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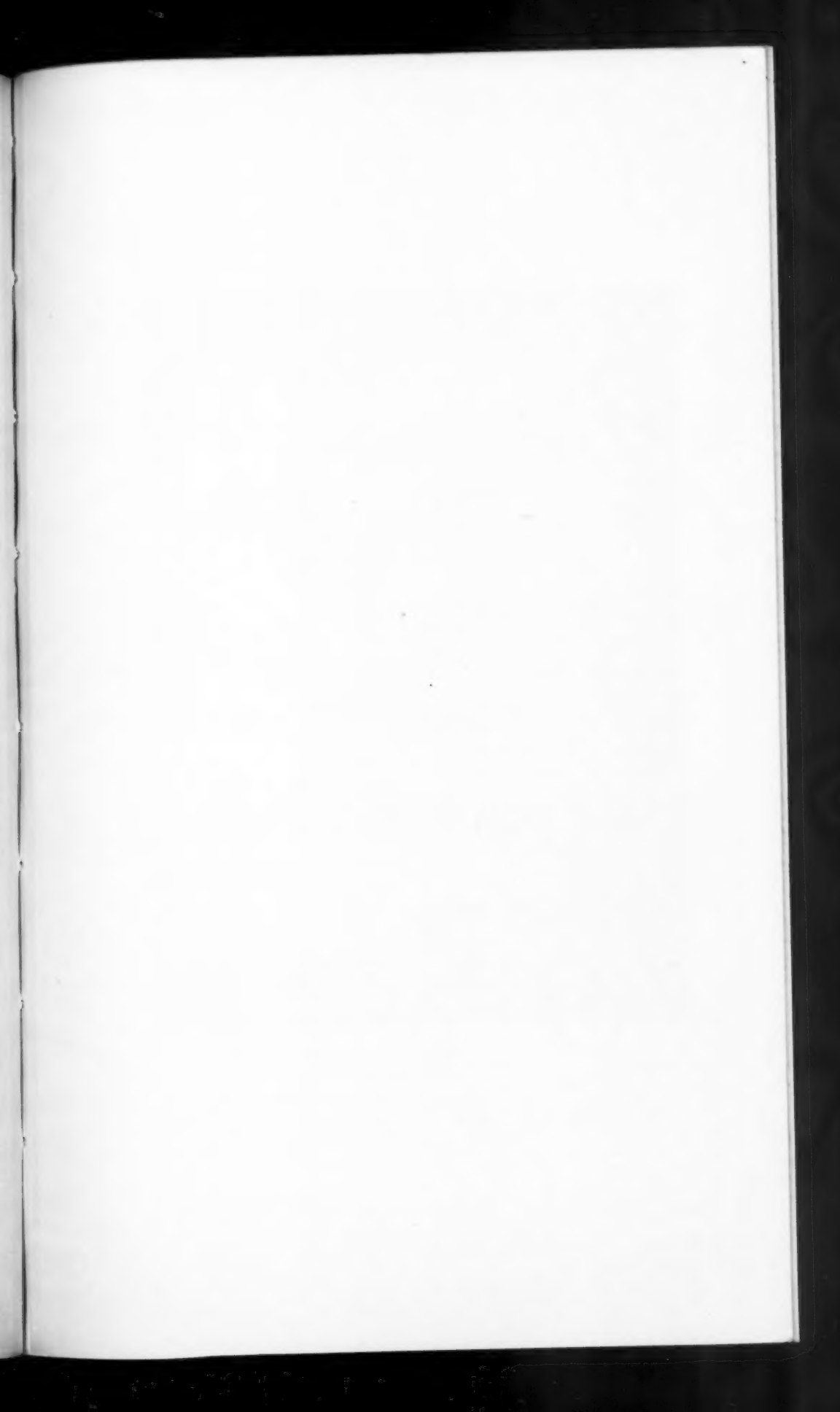
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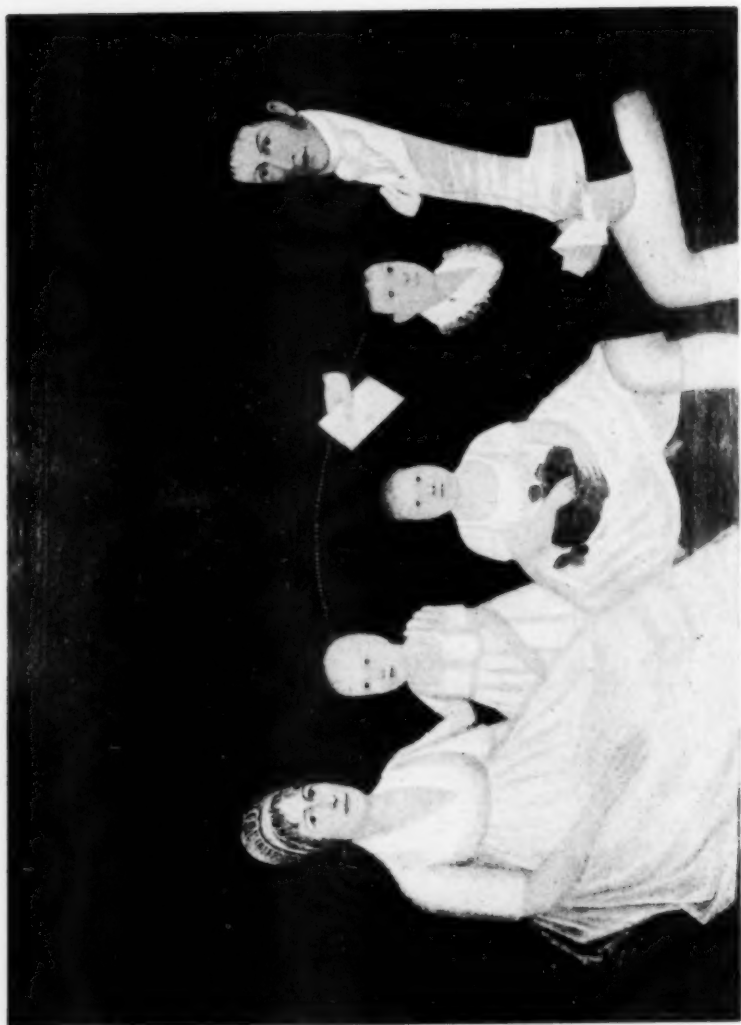
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NO. IX. THE JAMES MCCORMICK FAMILY
(c. 1804)

Owned by the Maryland Historical Society

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XXXVII

JUNE, 1942

No. 2

JOSHUA JOHNSTON, THE FIRST AMERICAN NEGRO PORTRAIT PAINTER

By J. HALL PLEASANTS

A nebulous figure, a Negro painter of considerable ability and with a style peculiarly his own, was a limner of portraits in Baltimore during the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth. As far as can be learned, Joshua Johnston, or Johnson, was the first individual in the United States with Negro blood to win for himself a place as a portrait painter, for it was not until many years later that any other member of his race attempted portraiture with even a mediocre degree of success. He deservedly should arrest the attention, not only of those interested in the history of American painting, but also of students of the cultural development of the American Negro.

Of Scipio Morehead, said to have been the first American Negro painter of whom there is any record, we know practically nothing. Phillis Wheatley (1753?-1784), the New England Negro poetess of the latter eighteenth century, dedicates a poem written some time before 1773 to "S. M.—a Young African Painter on Seeing his Works." From these verses it appears that he painted allegorical landscapes, one Aurora as symbolic of dawn and another bearing on the legend of Damon and Pythias. No light is thrown upon the painter's residence nor has any contemporary reference to him been found. The first American Negro portrait painter of whom there has hitherto been a record was Robert S. Duncanson (1821-1871) of Cincinnati, a mulatto of

mixed Scotch Canadian and Negro blood, who studied in England and achieved some contemporary notice in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. He also painted allegorical subjects and landscapes. Edward N. Bannister (1833-1901), said to have been a Negro of Canadian birth, was a landscape painter who lived in Providence and founded the Art Club there. He has hitherto been considered the first American Negro whose painting reached the level of mediocre competence.

The writer in a paper on Johnston and his work, published in *The Walpole Society Note Book* for 1939,* listed and described thirteen paintings by him. Since that time eight more canvases to be attributed to him have been found, bringing the number of his recognized paintings up to twenty-one. It is of interest that of these eight additional paintings, four have come to light as the result of the reproduction in color in the magazine *Life* for December 9, 1940, of the group painting of "The James McCormick Family" by Johnston (No. IX), which, when seen by an observant lady with a Baltimore background whose home is in Illinois and who is the owner of a similar group, "The Kennedy Long Family" (No. VI), made her feel certain that to Johnston was also to be attributed her own family group as well as three other Long family portraits. This McCormick group, a possession of the Maryland Historical Society, was reproduced in *Life* while it was on exhibition in the "Survey of American Painting," held at the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, in the autumn of 1940.

The thirteen paintings described in 1939 portray twenty-two subjects; these eight additional paintings depict twelve more subjects, bringing the number up to thirty-four in all. None of the canvases are signed or dated, but in nearly every instance, especially where children are portrayed, the date of painting can be quite accurately determined from the ages of the subjects. This series of twenty-one canvases, painted over a period from about 1789 to 1825, shows that the painting activities of Johnston extended over some thirty-five years. The subjects of many of

* This paper was also reprinted in pamphlet form by the Walpole Society under its title in the Note Book: *An Early Baltimore Negro Portrait Painter—Joshua Johnston*. By J. Hall Pleasants MCMXL (copyright). Through the courtesy of the Walpole Society nearly all of the material that appeared in the pamphlet has been made use of in the present paper, which records also eight additional paintings by Johnston that have since come to light.

the paintings are members of aristocratic or wealthy slave-holding families of Baltimore of that period.

Curiously conflicting family traditions exist as to the reputed ownership of the Negro artist. Three of the present possessors of certain of these paintings severally declare that the painter was a slave in the family of a forebear, but each names as the master a different Baltimorean, contemporary, but unrelated to either of the other two. Thus the late owner of the portraits of the two Smith children had always heard it asserted in her family that the painter was "a Negro owned by General Samuel Smith (1752-1839) of Montebello, father of the two subjects." General Smith won distinction both in the Revolution and in the War of 1812, and was Secretary of the Navy in Jefferson's cabinet as well as United States Senator from Maryland. The owner of the portrait of little Charles Herman Wilmans is just as certain that the painter of her portrait was a Negro blacksmith, the slave of General John Stricker (1759-1825), another Marylander who distinguished himself in the defense of Baltimore in the War of 1812, and in this she is supported by various descendants of the General. The owner of the painting of Mrs. John Moale (Ellin North) and her granddaughter, Ellin North Moale, is not only equally definite as to the ownership of the slave painter by his ancestor, John Moale (1731-1798), husband of the subject, who was colonel of the Baltimore Town militia during the Revolution, presiding justice of the County Court, and a leading merchant and landowner, but also gives to the artist the name William Johnson. He further declares that he was cared for in his latter years in the Moale household during a prolonged illness from consumption from which he eventually died, and in this tradition the owner of the painting is supported by various descendants of Mrs. Moale. Among the Moale descendants it is also said that the artist began his painting career as the slave of a well-known artist whose name cannot now be recalled. The last tradition which will be mentioned, although perhaps important, is that handed down in the family of Hugh McCurdy (c. 1765-1805), a prosperous Baltimore merchant, whose descendant now owns the two very attractive canvases portraying Mrs. McCurdy and three of her little daughters. The owner of these McCurdy paintings makes no claim as to ancestral ownership, nor does she know the

name or race of the painter, but hands down the tradition that he came to Baltimore from the West Indies. The possible significance of this statement will be discussed later. It is of interest that in only one of these four instances is the painter traditionally given a name. That he was originally a blacksmith by trade as one tradition asserts, seems improbable.

Certain conclusions, based upon statements by several of the owners of these twenty-one paintings as to the identity of the artist, seem to be justified. Three of the owners assert positively that the painter was a Negro and a slave, and a fourth, who has heard no tradition as to race, that he was from the West Indies. The remaining owners say that there are no family traditions as to who was the painter of their portraits, nor as to his race. In the case of the Moale painting, the present owner further declares that the painter was a slave named *William Johnson*. It seems fair to conclude, however, from the affirmative evidence that the painter was a Negro or mulatto, and that at some period of his life he had been a slave. On the other hand, it is taxing one's credulity too much to believe that during a painting period covering about a decade, when the Smith, Wilmans and Moale portraits were executed, that our artist was successively owned and made use of as a professional portrait painter by these three very prominent Baltimoreans.

From evidence which will now be produced, it seems quite certain that our painter's name was *Joshua Johnston*, or *Johnson*, not *William Johnson* as one tradition asserts, and that whether originally a slave or not, he was a "free Negro householder" for some thirty years of his Baltimore residence. An examination of the Baltimore directories, beginning with the first, that for 1796, and ending with the directory for 1824, reveals the name of *Joshua Johnston*, or *Johnson*, listed as a portrait painter, or limner, in these and nearly all the intervening years for which directories exist. In only one of the directories for this period, that for 1817, are Negroes listed separately, appearing at the end of the book as "Free Householders of Colour," and in this list we find *Joshua Johnston* as a portrait painter on Nelson Street, Old Town. In other years the names of free Negro householders are designated as "black man" or by a †, and are scattered throughout the directories among the white householders. Slaves were

certainly never listed in the directories. Although in no other instance is there any indication of Johnston's race to be found in the directory listings, there can be little question that he was a Negro, probably a light mulatto, for to have incorrectly listed a white man as a Negro would have been a serious matter, and would have laid open the directory publisher to a suit for libel. Why his race was ignored in the other nine directory listings in which his name occurs and where one would expect a racial designation, it is difficult to explain, unless he were a mulatto of such light color as to have deceived the directory enumerators. In the Federal Census for 1810, Joshua Johnson and all his household appear as of Baltimore, but without street address, and are thus listed: free white *males* under 10 years—1; between 10 and 15 years—2; between 16 and 45 years—1; *females*, under 10 years—2; between 10 and 15 years—1; between 16 and 45 years—1; other free persons—1. In the Census for 1820 no Joshua Johnson, or Johnston, is listed.

Our limner seems to have constantly changed his address, but appears invariably in the directories for a period of nearly thirty years as a portrait painter or limner. In 1796 as Joshua *Johnston* he was on "German str. between Hanover and Howard str.," but whether on the north or south side of German is not noted, a matter of interest in this listing, for it is worthy of note that Colonel John Moale, whom one tradition assigns as his master, then had his town house and garden on the south side of German Street in the block bounded by German, Hanover, Lombard, and Sharp streets. Possibly Johnston was given painting-room space in a small outbuilding on the Moale property. Without tracing in detail all of Joshua's wanderings, we find him as *Johnson* successively in 1800 in Primrose Alley; in 1802, 1803, 1804 at 52 North Gay Street, and in 1810 at 99 High Street (Old Town); in 1814 he had moved to Strawberry Alley on Fells Point; in 1817, once more as *Johnston* he was on Nelson Street, Old Town. But again as *Johnson* in 1819 he had returned to the city proper, and was on St. Paul's Lane near Centre Street; in 1824 he had moved back to Old Town where he was on Sleigh's Lane near Spring Street. After this his name disappears from the directory, probably because of his death. In every entry his name appears as *Johnson*, except in the 1796 and 1817 directories, when it is

spelled *Johnston*. Between 1804 and 1810 only three directories were published—those for 1805, 1807, and 1808. The name of Joshua, under any spelling, is not to be found in these three issues. It is possible that his name does not appear because he was not an actual *householder* at this time, or because he may have been living in the "precincts," as the suburbs of the city were then called, and thus have been outside the area listed in the directories. Or it is even possible that he left Baltimore and became an itinerant painter during this period. In support of this last possibility it should be noted that among the Baltimore paintings by him which can be quite definitely dated, none fall into the 1805-1808 period, although we have examples apparently painted in the years 1804 and 1809. No mention of him has been found in contemporary public records or newspapers. It seems best to adopt the spelling *Johnston* for his name, as it is more likely that this form would have been carelessly entered in the directory listings as *Johnson*, than the reverse.

Affirmative evidence that Johnston was not a slave is afforded by his listing in the Census of 1810 as a *Free Householder*, and by the fact that he was classed as a *Free Householder of Colour* in the 1817 directory. It seems equally certain that he was not a slave at any time during the entire period from 1796 to 1824 when he was listed in the directories. Nor is it credible that a succession of prominent Baltimore slave-holders would have maintained in servitude a talented artist, who painted to order portraits of their friends and acquaintances, and have thus profited over a period of many years by the work of his brush. That he was at first a slave, or house servant, of a portrait painter from whom he learned to paint is more than probable, and that he was allowed to earn enough eventually to purchase his freedom is quite likely, for it was in this way that many capable Negro artisans and tradesmen were given the opportunity to earn their freedom.

Who was the limner's "master," in an artistic or in a legal sense, it would be of great interest to learn. Painting in the early seventeen nineties in Baltimore were Charles Willson Peale, Charles Peale Polk, and Rembrandt Peale, as well as a number of less well-known portrait painters. Certainly some of these portraits by Joshua Johnston have a striking generic resemblance to the work of these three members of the Peale family. One, that

of Mrs. Abraham White and her child (No. XX), is attributed by the owner to Rembrandt Peale and bears a certain resemblance to the latter's earliest work, and another, that of Captain Thomas Sprigg (No. XVI), by its owner to Charles Willson Peale.

It must be admitted however, that the tradition in the McCurdy family that this painter was from the West Indies does not fit well into the theory of a Peale-Polk influence. In the years 1793 to 1795 there arrived in Baltimore from the island of Santo Domingo more than one thousand French refugees who had fled from there as a result of the Negro insurrection against the whites which had broken out in 1793. Many of these refugees had brought with them Negro slaves or servants who had remained faithful to their masters. Among these émigrés with French names there were a number of silversmiths and painters who now began to appear for the first time in the Baltimore records. It is possible that Joshua Johnston was from Santo Domingo, but if so, he certainly adopted a new name, possibly to fit better into a new environment. Be this as it may, some of this group of paintings have rather a French primitive flavor.

The twenty-one paintings which can be unquestionably attributed to the Negro portrait painter have many striking stylistic characteristics in common. All are drawn in the same stiff manner, with a peculiar rigidity of arms and hands, and, it may be added, of legs and feet, where the standing figure is shown. With few exceptions the face is shown about three-quarters full. The eyes and mouth are treated in the same manner in all the portraits. The eyes are always directed forward and the upper lids painted in the same manner. The mouths are all drawn in rather tightly. All the subjects are depicted staring intently, apparently at their painter. In the group paintings there is nothing in the facial expressions of the subjects to indicate the least relation of one to any other member of the group. In twelve of the twenty-one canvases some seventeen children in all are portrayed, either alone or in family groups. The pose of these is strikingly similar. In nineteen of the twenty-one paintings the rather expressionless hands are shown, and in every instance holding such objects as a letter, chart, book, gloves, riding crop, basket, parasol, pencil, whistle, sextant, drawing-board, fruit, or cake. In five paintings, be it noted, strawberry leaves and berries, painted with meticulous

care and in an identical manner, and in two portraits cherries, are to be seen, and the strawberry and cherry baskets also show identical basketwork. Where trees or vines are used in the background, they are painted in the same manner. In two portraits, members of the Bankson family, identically the same earring is worn. In eight canvases, either single figures or family groups, the subjects are seated on upholstered settees or chairs of Sheraton type, studded with innumerable brass-headed tacks, which has given rise to the facetious soubriquet, "the brass-tack artist." The backgrounds are usually plain and sombre. In six instances a rather dark curtain is to be seen, and in four this is red. In five of the paintings an open casement discloses a landscape view. When the floor is shown, as in two instances, it is tessellated. In three of the child portraits there is introduced as an accessory object, an extraordinary looking creature, a white dog with a bushy, squirrel-like tail and pig-like head, either lying on a subject's lap or seated on hind legs. A characteristic cord and tassel is introduced in three paintings, either as a curtain-pull or dress decoration. Thirteen of the sixteen children and three of the mothers are shown in white dresses. In at least four of the canvases a child wears red slippers. The costumes are painted with considerable care, especially the lace collars, cuffs, and caps of the women and children.

In all, twenty-one paintings so completely fit into the Joshua Johnston group as to justify their inclusion without qualification. Three of these, the portraits of Mrs. John Moale and grandchild, and those of the two Smith children, while conforming in general, have, however, a certain fuzzy appearance not found in the remaining more sharply drawn paintings. This fuzziness appears to the writer to be due to over-painting in some old restoration. Four of the paintings are in very bad condition.

To appraise fairly Joshua Johnston as an American painter of the late eighteenth century we should not set our standards unreasonably high. He must in a way be classed with the primitives, although whatever his primitive instincts may have been, his style was certainly influenced by the Peale-Polk family group. Hard

linear painting, well executed and attractive in Charles Willson Peale, was debased by his nephew, Charles Peale Polk; Johnston carried this descending scale still further. The stiff handling by Polk of legs, arms, and figure was carried to a greater degree of rigidity by the Negro, who certainly saw the work of Polk, painting much in Baltimore during the eighties and nineties. Polk may well have been his "master" in a dual sense. One is also reminded of the stiff figures of Ralph Earl—a painter whom Johnston certainly never saw. There is little attempt at modeling; our Negro painter was a two-dimensional man. Many of the mannerisms of Polk were employed. Polk's hands very often have a peculiar pudgy appearance; this is also true of Joshua. Polk applied his paint sparingly, so did Joshua. As a colorist, however, Johnston was more given to the sombre, dark backgrounds, and black or white costumes: Polk often vied with the rainbow. Polk, much more than any other local painter of this period, revelled in accessories; Johnston not only used accessories freely, but employed several of those of which Polk was especially fond.

The writer is hopeful that at any time a contemporary newspaper, letter, or diary reference to Joshua Johnston may turn up, which will clear away much of the uncertainty that now enshrouds him, and verify the truth of the tradition of a "Negro slave artist" who flourished in Baltimore during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and absolutely identify him with the very real Baltimore limner, Joshua Johnston, who is recorded as a portrait painter for over thirty years.

The writer gratefully acknowledges the helpful suggestions which he has received in the critical study of several of these paintings from Mrs. Anne Bolling Wheeler of Boston and Mr. Macgill James of Washington, two highly competent students of early American portraiture. His thanks are due to the Frick Art Reference Library for permission to reproduce its photographs of several of the paintings, and to the Walpole Society for allowing him to use the material in his earlier paper on Johnston.

I

MRS. ANDREW BEDFORD BANKSON

(c. 1780-)

and child

SUBJECTS: There is some doubt as to the identity of the subject. The owner, Mr. Hugh Purviance King, who is a great-grandson of Mrs. James Beatty (No. III), and also the owner of this portrait, has always heard this subject called "Auntie Bankson." The writer, from an examination of the Bankson pedigree, believes that the subject of this painting is probably Mrs. Andrew Bedford Bankson, a sister-in-law of Mrs. Beatty, but the strong likeness between the subjects of these two portraits raises a question as to this. The subject of No. II is thought to be Mrs. Bankson's husband. There is no family tradition as to the name of the child.

DATE: c. 1804

SIZE: Canvas 32" X 28"

DESCRIPTION: The mother and child are shown seated, three-quarters length, facing the spectator. The mother, seated at the left, is a rather good looking woman in her early twenties, and has brown hair and grey eyes. Her hair is bound with a double circlet of light beads, and the earring which she shows in her right ear is identical with that worn by her sister-in-law, Mrs. James Beatty (No. III). She wears a light brown dress with a lace ruffle around the low neck. Her right hand, resting on the lap of the child seated at her left, holds a bunch of strawberry leaves and berries. The child, apparently a girl of perhaps three years of age, sits at the right end of the sofa. She has light hair and blue eyes. She wears a high-waisted white muslin dress and holds in her right hand a strawberry which she is raising to her lips. The Sheraton sofa is covered with green material and is studded with brass headed tacks. The background is light brown. There is a dark curtain at the upper right from which hangs a white tassel. Compare the positions of the subjects with Nos. IV, V, XII.

OWNERSHIP: The owner is Mr. Hugh Purviance King of Hewlett, Long Island. The painting, with Nos. II and III, has passed by descent to the owner who is a great-grandson of Mrs. James Beatty (Elizabeth Grant Bankson [No. III]), sister-in-law of the subject.

ATTRIBUTIONS: The owner says that he knows of no tradition in his immediate family as to who the painter was. It is to be noted, however, that the husband of Mrs. Bankson, one of the subjects, was an uncle of Charles Herman Wilmans (No. XXI). The Wilmans portrait is said by its owner, Mrs. Horner, to have been painted by the Negro slave who belonged to General John Stricker. Mrs. Stricker was the maternal aunt of the subject's husband. The writer definitely attributes this to Joshua Johnston.

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 17834. Walpole *Note Book*, No. I.



No. I. MRS. ANDREW BEDFORD BANKSON
(c. 1780-)
and child

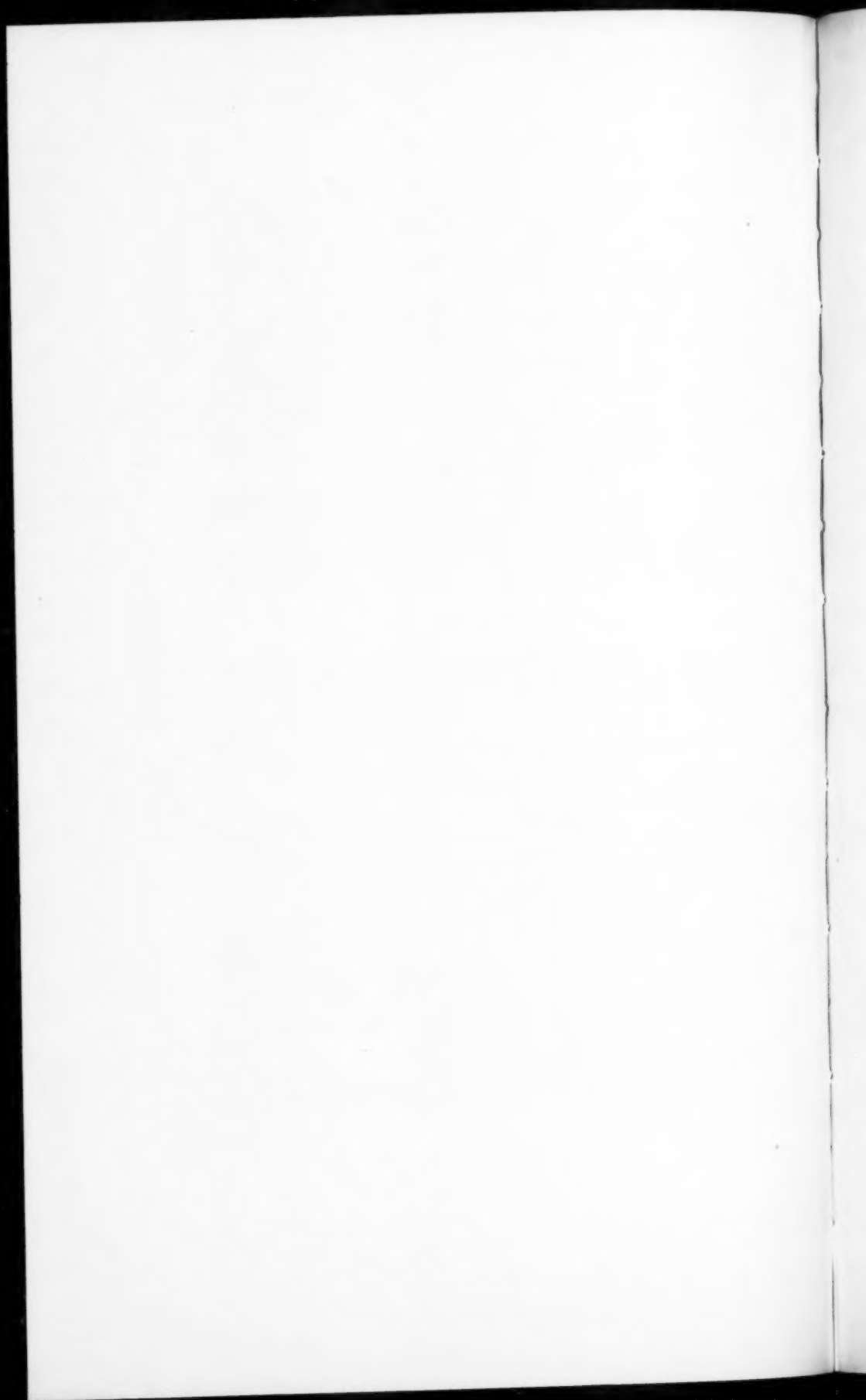
Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library



No. III. MRS. JAMES BEATTY
(Elizabeth Grant Bankson)
(1775-1851)

Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library





II

MR. BANKSON

Andrew Bedford Bankson (?)

(1773-)

SUBJECT: The owner thinks that this is the portrait of his cousin, Gunning Bedford Bankson, a son of Mrs. Elizabeth Bankson (No. I), and a nephew of Mrs. James Beatty (No. III), and that the subject is identical with the child of No. I, painted, he thinks, some twenty years earlier. The writer cannot agree with this identification as he believes that all three of these Bankson family portraits (Nos. I, II, and III), which were painted by the same artist, were painted at about the same time, and that the child of No. I is a girl. The costume of this subject, with powdered hair and queue, is of about the same date, c. 1804, as the others of this group. Mrs. Beatty (née Bankson) had a brother, Andrew Bedford Bankson (b. 1773), who may be the subject of this painting and it is tentatively identified as such.

DATE: c. 1804

SIZE: Canvas 32½" × 28"

DESCRIPTION: The subject, a man of perhaps thirty, is shown three-quarters length, seated, turned slightly to the left. His grey eyes are directed forward. Powdered hair, apparently tied at the back. In his left hand he holds a sealed letter and his right hand rests on his leg. He wears a brown coat, with white waistcoat showing below, white stock, and cuffs, and grey trousers. He is seated on a mahogany chair. The background is brown, with what appears to be a curtain in the upper right. Although in bad condition it is, however, definitely of the Joshua Johnston group.

OWNERSHIP: The owner is Mr. Hugh Purviance King of Hewlett, Long Island. The painting has passed, with Nos. I and III, by descent to the owner, who is a great-grandson of the subject's sister, Mrs. James Beatty (No. III).

OWNER'S ATTRIBUTION: The owner says that he knows of no tradition in his immediate family as to who the painter was. It is to be noted, however, that the portrait of this subject's nephew, Charles Herman Wilmans (No. XXI), is said by its owner, Mrs. Horner, to have been painted by a Negro slave who belonged to General John Stricker. Mrs. Stricker, the General's wife, was a maternal aunt of this subject. The writer definitely attributes this to Joshua Johnston.

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 17835.

III

MRS. JAMES BEATTY
(Mrs. Carl Heinrich Wilmans)
(Elizabeth Grant Bankson)

(1775-1851)

SUBJECT: Mrs. Carl Heinrich Wilmans of Baltimore. She was born in Philadelphia in 1775, and died in Baltimore June 5, 1851. Her maiden name was Elizabeth Grant Bankson. She married, c. 1795, Carl Heinrich Wilmans (1769-1798), a Baltimore merchant, by whom she was the mother of Charles Herman Wilmans (No. XXI) also painted by Joshua Johnston. She married secondly, James Beatty, also a Baltimore merchant, by whom she had issue.

DATE: c. 1804; probably when her son's portrait was painted.

SIZE: Canvas 20" \times 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ "

DESCRIPTION: The subject is a handsome young woman of apparently twenty-five to thirty years of age. This is a head and shoulders portrait with the body and head shown turned slightly to the left. She has grey eyes and reddish-brown hair. She wears a low cut black dress trimmed about the neck with white lace. The earring which is to be seen in her left ear is identical with that worn by her sister-in-law, Mrs. Andrew Bedford Bankson (No. I). Hanging over the front of her left shoulder is a twisted white cord and tassel. There is an olive grey background.

OWNERSHIP: The owner is Mr. Hugh Purviance King, of Hewlett, Long Island. The painting has passed, with Nos. I and III, by direct descent to the owner, who is a great-grandson of the subject by her second husband, James Beatty.

ATTRIBUTION: The owner says that he knows of no tradition in his immediate family as to who the painter was. It is to be noted, however, that the portrait of the subject's son, Charles Herman Wilmans (No. XXI), is said by its owner, Mrs. Horner, to have been painted by the Negro slave who belonged to General John Stricker. Mrs. Stricker, the General's wife, was a maternal aunt of this subject. The writer attributes this definitely to Joshua Johnston.

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 17836. Walpole *Note Book*, No. III. Baltimore *Sun*, Dec. 22, 1940.

IV

CAPTAIN THOMAS KELL

(c. 1745-1790)

SUBJECT: Capt. Thomas Kell of Fell's Point, Baltimore, and Kellville, Harford County, Md. He was born in England c. 1745, and spent most of his life in Maryland. He died at Guadaloupe, West Indies, in the autumn of 1790, while on a voyage there. He was a sea captain and is said to have commanded the privateers *Dolphin* and *Little Davy* in the Revolution. He married, May 30, 1767, Aliceanna Bond (c. 1748-1814) (whose companion portrait is described under No. V), by whom he had fifteen children.

DATE: c. 1789-1790, as it is the companion portrait of that of his wife who is painted with her daughter Pamela, one of the youngest of their fifteen children.

SIZE: Canvas c. 34" X 28"

DESCRIPTION: This painting is in wretched condition. It shows a young middle-aged man with head and body turned slightly to the left. Hair dark. He wears a green velvet coat with white jabot and light waistcoat, and holds a letter in his left hand. Background dark red hangings.

OWNERSHIP: The painting is owned by Mrs. Edward Alexander of Alexandria, Va., as is the companion portrait, that of the subject's wife and daughter (No. V).

ATTRIBUTION: There is no family tradition as to who was the painter. The writer feels certain from the photograph (he has not seen the original) that this is a very early painting by Joshua Johnston; the companion portrait of the subject's wife and daughter is a completely characteristic and rather crude example of his work—the earliest so far found.

REPRODUCTION: Owner's photograph.

V

MRS. THOMAS KELL

(Aliceanna Bond)

(c. 1748-1814)

and daughter

SUBJECT: (1) Mrs. Thomas Kell of Fell's Point, Baltimore, and Kellville, Harford Co., Md. She was born c. 1748, and died in Kellville, Apr. 21, 1814. She was the daughter of John Bond (1712-1791), a Quaker, who lived both at Fell's Point and at Kellville, and his wife, Aliceanna Webster (d. 1765). She married, May 30, 1767, Capt. Thomas

Kell (c. 1745-1790) (see No. IV), of Fell's Point and Kellville, by whom she had fifteen children. She was the mother of Judge Thomas Kell, Jr. (1772-1846) of the Baltimore County Court.

(2) Pamela Kell, one of her younger children. Not traced.

DATE: c. 1789-1790

SIZE: Canvas c. 34" × 28"

DESCRIPTION: This painting is in bad condition. It shows a rather young middle-aged woman turned slightly to the right with a little girl of perhaps two years of age sitting on her lap. Her hair and eyes are dark. She wears a white cap and white fichu over a maroon colored dress, and holds in her right hand three cherries and a bunch of grapes. The child is dressed entirely in white with a toy or whistle in her right hand and bunch of grapes in her left. The background is dark red.

OWNERSHIP: The painting was owned in 1930 by Mrs. Edward Alexander, of Alexandria, Va., and is the companion portrait of that of her husband, No. IV.

ATTRIBUTION: There is no family tradition as to who is the painter. The writer feels certain from the photograph (he has not seen the original) that this is a very early but typical painting by Joshua Johnston. Not only are the features, pose and dress of both subjects characteristic, but the fruit and fan held in the hands are equally so.

REPRODUCTION: Owner's photograph.

VI

THE KENNEDY LONG FAMILY

SUBJECTS: (Numbered from left to right)

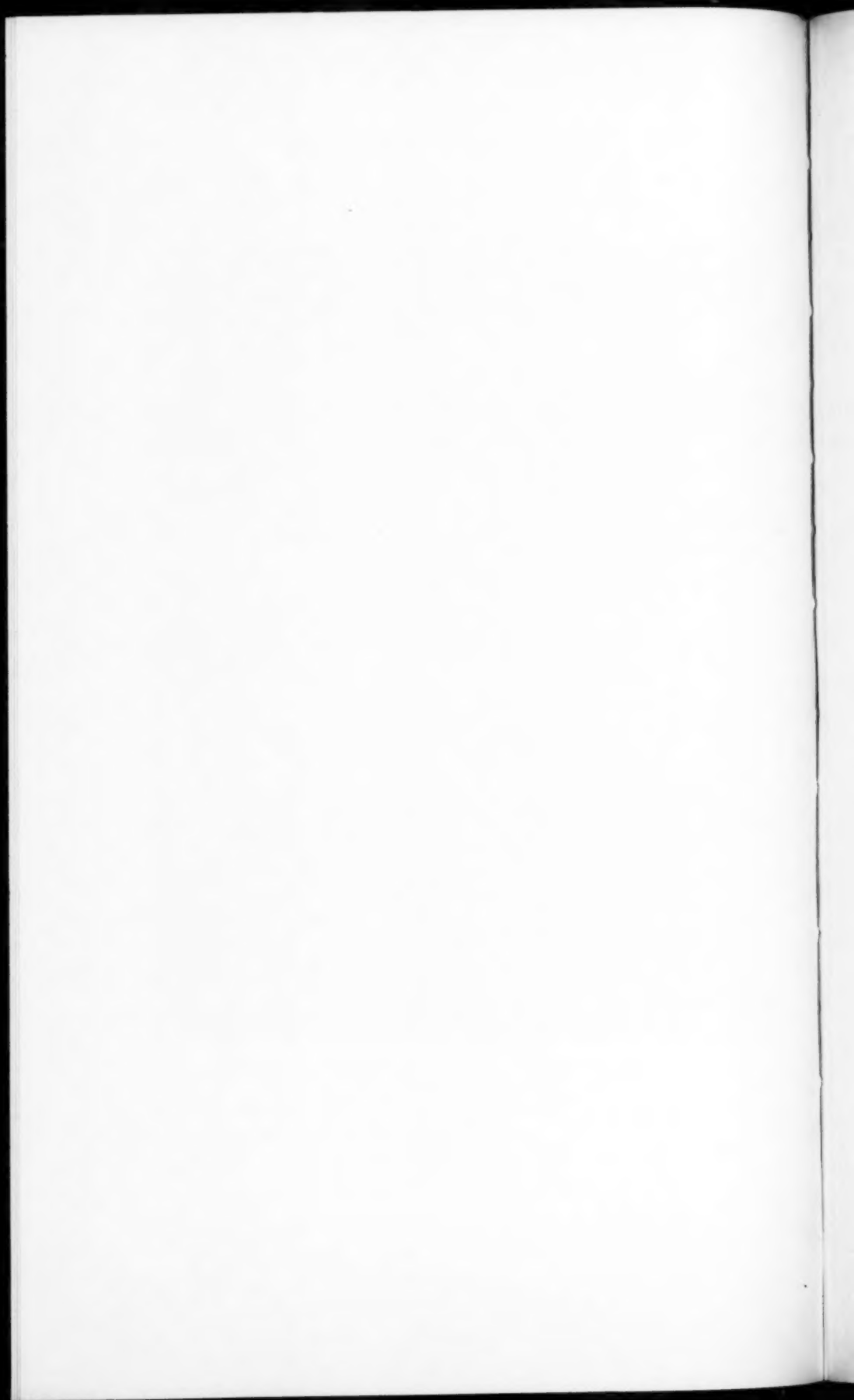
(1) Mrs. Kennedy Long (Elizabeth Kennedy) (1779-1850) of Baltimore, Md., and Pittsfield, Ill. She was the daughter of Andrew Kennedy (1751-1811), a native of Tyrone, Ireland, who settled in Pennsylvania and served in the Revolution. She married, Nov. 16, 1797, her first cousin, Kennedy Long (1763-1824), an Irishman from Belfast, who came to Baltimore and was a prominent merchant here. They were the parents of eight children, the three eldest of whom are shown in this painting. Mrs. Long, after the death of her husband, removed in 1830 with her family to the west, spending her latter years there in Pittsfield, Illinois.

(2) Capt. Andrew Kennedy Long, U. S. N. (1804-1867), of Baltimore Md., and Carlisle, Pa. He was the third child of Kennedy and Elizabeth Long. He married, Apr. 18, 1837, Marion Lowry Donaldson (1813-1870), by whom he had six children.

(3) Eliza Long (Mrs. George Balfour) (1802-1870), of Baltimore,



NO. VI. THE KENNEDY LONG FAMILY
Mrs. Long (Elizabeth Kennedy) (1779-1850), and three eldest children



Md., Norfolk, Va., and Pittsfield, Ill. She was the second child of Kennedy and Elizabeth Long. She married Dr. George Balfour of Norfolk, a surgeon, U. S. N., on whose death a few years later she moved to Pittsfield, Ill.

(4) George Hunter Long (1798-1816), of Baltimore. He died in Baltimore in boyhood.

DATE: c. 1805, from the apparent ages of the children.

SIZE: Canvas 41" X 53"

DESCRIPTION: The mother, shown three-quarters length, is seated at the end of the sofa to the left, with her three children arranged in the order of their ages, the children either standing on the sofa, seated on it, or standing on the floor. The mother has dark hair and blue eyes, the children yellow hair and blue eyes. The mother, the baby, and the little girl wear white dresses. The mother wears a red flower, the two younger children have coral necklaces, and the baby's whistle, the cherries held by the boy and those in the basket, as well as the seat of the footstool are red. The mahogany sofa is covered with black horsehair held in place by the brass tacks so dear to the heart of this artist.

OWNERSHIP: The owner is Mrs. Albyn C. Adams of Pittsfield, Ill., a great-granddaughter of Mrs. Kennedy Long. This painting was given by the latter to one of her younger sons, Thomas Jefferson Long (b. 1808), who gave it to his daughter, Isadora Eliza Long (Mrs. George Harvey), of St. Louis, who gave it to her cousin, Mrs. Albyn C. Adams, a descendant of Mrs. Kennedy Long's youngest daughter, Amelia Juliana Long (Mrs. Thomas Worthington) (1818-1881).

ATTRIBUTIONS: It was the discerning eye of Mrs. Adams, the owner, who noticed the strong stylistic resemblance between her painting and "The James McCormick Family" group (No. IX), reproduced in color in the magazine *Life* for Dec. 9, 1940, when it was on exhibition at the Survey of American Painting, held at the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, Pa., in 1940. This caused her to bring to the writer's attention her painting, as well as three other Long family portraits by Joshua Johnston (Nos. VII, VIII, XIX). There is no tradition in the owner's family as to who painted any of these four portraits; all, however, are typical examples of Johnston's work.

REPRODUCTION: A photograph made for the owner. *Journal Illinois State Historical Society*, Sept. 1941, p. 366.

VII

HENRY LONG

(1774-1850)

SUBJECT: Henry Long, a native of Belfast, Ireland, who settled in Baltimore about 1791, removing in 1830 to Atlas, Illinois. He was the son of William Long of Belfast, and a brother and business partner of Kennedy Long of Baltimore (No. VI). He was a Baltimore merchant. He married first, Aug. 24, 1809, Eliza Ann Gittings of "Long Green," Baltimore County, by whom he had two sons; and secondly, Aug. 5, 1823, Emeline Green, by whom he had eight children. The oldest of the children by his second wife was Jesse Green Long, the subject of No. VIII. He died in Atlas in 1850.

DATE: c. 1805

SIZE: Canvas 30" X 25"

DESCRIPTION: A man of perhaps twenty-five to thirty years of age, shown three-quarters length, seated on brown chair. He faces the spectator one-quarter front to the right. His hair is dark brown. He wears a white collar and frill, a black coat with brass buttons and a yellow waistcoat. He holds an open book in his right hand. The background is reddish brown.

OWNERSHIP: The owner is Mrs. Herbert A. Tuohy, of New York City, a great-granddaughter of the subject. The painting passed from the subject to his son, Jesse Green Long (No. VIII), to the latter's son, Richard Henry Long, and from him to his daughter, Mrs. Tuohy.

ATTRIBUTIONS: There is no tradition in the owner's family as to who was the painter. It is the writer's opinion that this is a typical Joshua Johnston painting, the features and pose strongly resembling nos. II, XV and XVI.

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 34148.

VIII

JESSE GREEN LONG

SUBJECT: Jesse Green Long of Baltimore, Md., and Pike Co., Ill. He was the eldest son of Henry Long (1774-1850) (No. VII) of Balto., Md., and Atlas, Ill., and his second wife, Emeline Green. He was born about 1822-1823.

DATE: c. 1825

SIZE: Canvas 16" X 12"

DESCRIPTION: This is a half-length painting of a child of about two

years of age, standing, with head turned slightly to right, wearing a dark dress; he is about to eat a strawberry held in his right hand. This description is from a very poor snapshot.

OWNERSHIP: Unknown, but it belongs to a descendant of the subject living in Illinois.

ATTRIBUTION: There is no tradition as to the painter of this portrait. It is one of the group of four Long family paintings which in the writer's opinion are obviously by Joshua Johnston. It is of interest, however, that if the subject is correctly identified, it must have been painted at least as late as 1824-1825, or more than a decade after any other portrait is known to have been painted by Johnston.

REPRODUCTION: A poor snapshot of the painting shows it to be in very bad condition.

IX

THE JAMES McCORMICK FAMILY

(Frontispiece)

SUBJECTS: (Numbered from left to right)

(5) James McCormick (1763-1841), of Baltimore. He was born in county Tyrone, Ireland, in 1763, and died in Washington, D. C., June 16, 1841. He was the youngest of three brothers who settled in Alexandria, Virginia, soon after the Revolution. He removed to Baltimore, where he was first employed by the firm of John P. Pleasants & Sons, merchants, and, although unrelated, gave the name Pleasants to two of his children. Later he engaged in business for himself as a merchant at 236 Baltimore Street. He married first, April 12, 1798, Rachel Ridgely Lux (1762-1810). He married secondly, in 1813, Elizabeth Anderson. His first wife, Rachel, and three of his four children, are shown in this painting.

(1) Mrs. McCormick (Rachel Ridgely Lux) (1762-1810). She was the daughter of Colonel Darby Lux, Jr. (1737-1795) of "Mount Airy," Baltimore County, and his wife, Rachel Ridgely (1734-1813). She died November 26, 1810.

(2) William Lux McCormick (1803-liv. 1826). He was born March 8, 1803, and married March 15, 1826, Esther Hough Cottman (1806-) of Somerset County, Maryland. He has not been traced further.

(3) Sophia Pleasants McCormick (c. 1801-). Nothing further has been learned of her except that she married a Mr. Hammond.

(4) John Pleasants McCormick (1799-1862), of Baltimore. He died March 26, 1862, aged sixty-two. He married, March 22, 1830, Ann Elizabeth Cottman, of Somerset County, Maryland, the sister of his brother's wife.

DATE: 1804 or 1805, from the apparent ages of the children.

SIZE: Canvas 50" X 70"

DESCRIPTION: The parents, shown three-quarters length, are seated at either end of a mahogany Sheraton sofa with the three children between them in various postures, arranged according to age. The flesh tints of all are pale. They nearly face the spectator. The mother's eyes are brown and she has dark brown hair. She wears a white cap and is dressed in a high-waisted white muslin dress.

The youngest child, William Lux, standing on the sofa next to his mother, has blue eyes and light brown hair, and wears a high-waisted white dress his right hand is on his mother's shoulder. The daughter, Sophia Pleasants, seated in the centre, has blue eyes and brown hair. She also wears a high-waisted white dress with brilliant red slippers peeping out below. She holds in her lap a brown wicker basket filled with strawberries and strawberry leaves.

The elder son, John Pleasants, has blue eyes and dark brown hair, and wears a black coat and white collar with ruffled edging. His left hand rests on his father's shoulder and his right hand grasps a paper held by his father.

The father, who faces three-quarters to the left, has dark blue eyes and dark brown hair and sideburns. He wears a black coat, and white stock and cravat, vest, trousers, and stockings. His right arm rests on the upper edge of the sofa, the right hand holding a letter. There is a paper in his left hand. The mahogany sofa is covered with some dark material fastened along its sides and top with brass-headed tacks. All the figures show the characteristic stiffness of this painter and his rather expressionless hands. Compare the pose of the mother and baby with Nos. I, X, XX. It is framed in its original black wood frame about three inches wide.

OWNERSHIP: This painting belongs to the Maryland Historical Society. It was presented on February 22, 1922, by Dr. Thomas C. McCormick, the grandson of James McCormick and his wife, Rachel Ridgely Lux.

ATTRIBUTION: The late owner, Dr. Thomas C. McCormick, made no statement as to the painter. The writer feels certain that the painting is by Joshua Johnston.

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 2984. *Walpole Note Book*, No. IV. The magazine *Life*, Dec. 9, 1940. Alain Locke, *The Negro in Art* (1940), p. 14.

X

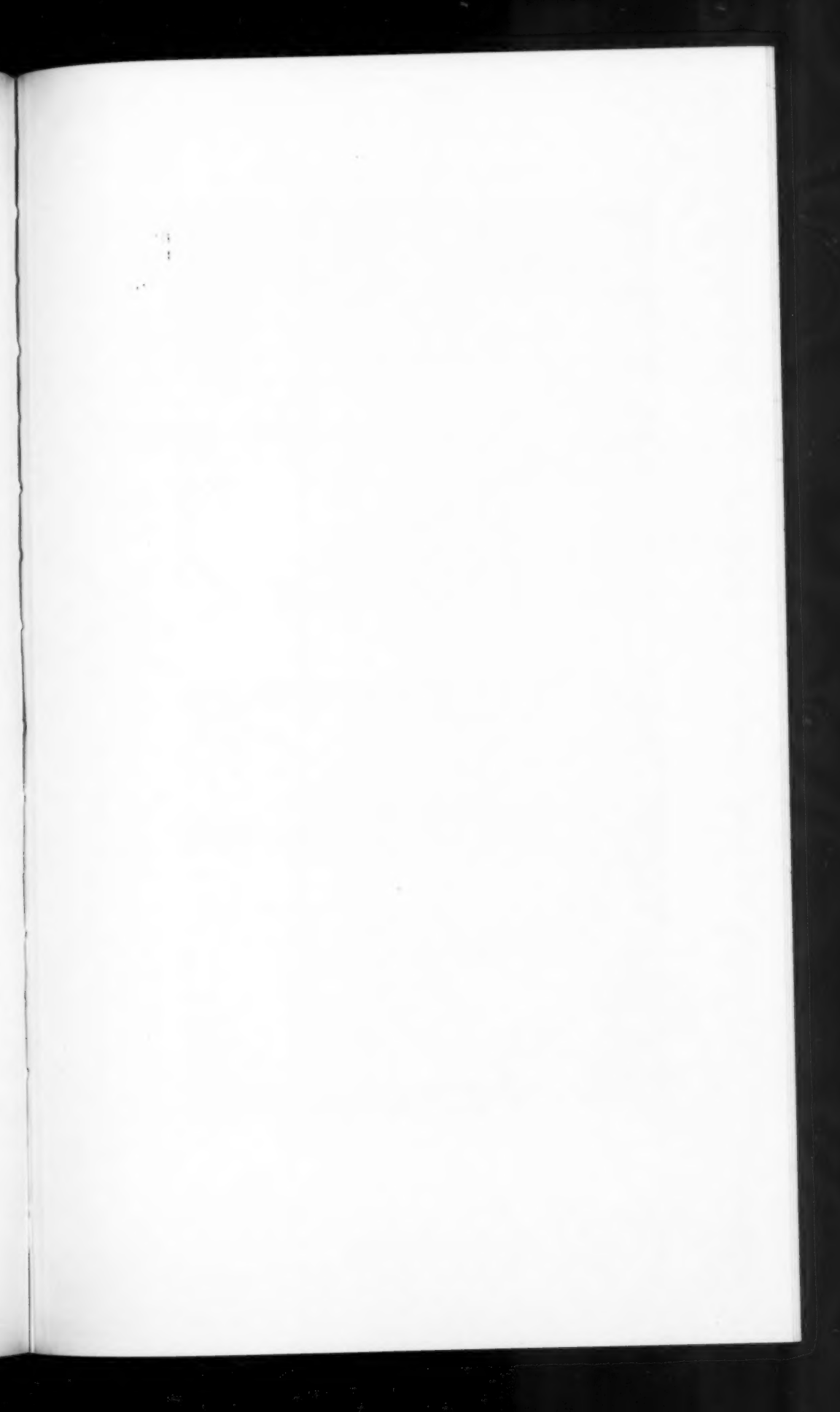
MRS. HUGH McCURDY

(1775-1822)

and daughters

SUBJECTS: (Numbered from left to right)

(1) Mrs. Hugh McCurdy (Grace Allison) (1775-1822), of Baltimore, Maryland. She was born January 11, 1775, probably in Phila-





No. X. MRS. HUGH MCCURDY
(1775-1822)
and daughters

Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library



No. XI. LETITIA GRACE MCCURDY
(Mrs. Richard Henry Douglass)
(1797-1875)

Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library

delphia, and died in Baltimore, July 22, 1822. She was the daughter of Captain William Allison (d. ante 1788) of Philadelphia, and his wife, Grace (Chambers) Caldwell (c. 1736-1791). She married first, June 17, 1794, Hugh McCurdy (c. 1765-1805), a prosperous Baltimore merchant by whom she had at least two children. After his death in 1805, she married, May 8, 1811, Edward N. Clopper (Nov. 8, 1773-). She also left issue by her second husband.

(2) Mary Jane McCurdy (c. 1802-1866), of Baltimore. She was born in 1801 or 1802, and died in Baltimore in her sixty-fifth year, on April 8, 1866. She did not marry.

(3) Letitia Grace McCurdy (Mrs. Richard Henry Douglass) (1797-1875), of Baltimore. She was born September 25, 1797, and died August 25, 1875. She married, June 27, 1828, Richard Henry Douglass (1780-1829), a Baltimore merchant. A possible error in the identity of this subject is discussed under No. XI.

DATE: c. 1804, from the ages of the children.

SIZE: Canvas 41" \times 34 $\frac{1}{4}$ "

DESCRIPTION: The mother, three-quarters length, is seated on a Sheraton sofa, the younger daughter stands on the sofa beside her, and the older daughter on the floor to the right. All are dressed in white and are looking directly at the spectator. The mother's eyes are light hazel; her flesh tints are rather pale. Her dark brown hair is bound with a white embroidered bandeau. She is dressed in a high-waisted white muslin dress trimmed around neck and sleeves with white lace. She holds in her left hand a bunch of strawberry leaves and berries. The younger child, of perhaps eighteen months, has light brown eyes and hair, and the flesh tints are pale. She wears a high-waisted white muslin dress with lace trimmed sleeves, and white stockings. A bit of brilliant red left slipper can just be seen. She wears a necklace of gold beads. The older child to the right has very dark brown eyes and dark brown hair; her flesh tints are rather pale. She also wears a high-waisted white muslin dress trimmed with lace, and about her neck a dark ribbon holding a gold ornament. In her left hand she holds a brown wicker basket filled with strawberry leaves and berries. In her right hand she holds, upside down, a black parasol.

The positions of the mother and younger child are almost identical with that seen in Nos. I, IX, XX. The hands are rather expressionless. The sofa is covered with a dark fabric fastened along its upper border with brass-headed tacks. The background is a dark grey becoming lighter below.

OWNERSHIP: This portrait and No. XI were inherited by Mrs. J. Earl Moore of Baltimore, the owner, from her mother, who was the daughter of Letitia Grace McCurdy (Mrs. Richard Henry Douglass) (Nos. X and XI), and the granddaughter of Mrs. Hugh McCurdy.

ATTRIBUTION: Family tradition states that this painting and the companion painting of Letitia Grace McCurdy (No. XI) were both painted by a West Indian artist, whose race is not stated. The writer definitely attributes these two paintings to Joshua Johnston. It seems possible that he may have been a West Indian Negro who learned to paint from one of the Peale-Polk group.

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 19751. *Walpole Note Book*, No. V.

XI

LETITIA GRACE MCCURDY

(Mrs. Richard Henry Douglass)

(1797-1875)

SUBJECT: Letitia Grace McCurdy (Mrs. Richard Henry Douglass) (1797-1875), of Baltimore. She was born in Baltimore, September 25, 1797, and died August 25, 1875. She was the daughter of Hugh McCurdy (c. 1765-1805), a Baltimore merchant, and his wife, Grace Allison (1775-1822). She married, June 27, 1828, Richard Henry Douglass (1780-1829), a merchant of Baltimore. The owner identifies this as her grandmother, Letitia Grace McCurdy, as she does the elder girl of No. X.

DATE: c. 1804, as determined by the age of the subject.

SIZE: Canvas 41" \times 34½"

DESCRIPTION: A standing full-length figure of a girl of about six years, nearly fronting the spectator. Eyes dark brown; hair brown; flesh tints rather pale. She wears a high-waisted white muslin dress trimmed about the neck with lace, white stockings, and bright red slippers. A gold ornament hangs about her neck on a black band. In her left hand she holds a cake towards a curious looking dog with bushy tail seated on his hind legs, the same type of dog introduced as an accessory in other paintings by Johnston. The background is dark grey with a red curtain at the upper left. Through an open casement at the right is to be seen a landscape with trees, hills, and a fence.

OWNERSHIP: This painting and No. X were inherited by Mrs. J. Earle Moore of Baltimore, the owner, from her mother, who was the daughter of Letitia Grace McCurdy (Mrs. Richard Henry Douglass) and the granddaughter of Mrs. Hugh McCurdy.

ATTRIBUTION: Family tradition states that this portrait and the companion painting of Mrs. McCurdy and daughter (No. X) were both painted by a West Indian artist whose race is not stated. The writer definitely attributes these two paintings to Joshua Johnston. It seems



NO. XII. MRS. JOHN MOALE (ELLIN NORTH)
(1741-1825)

and granddaughter, Ellin North Moale
(1794-1803)



possible that he may have been a West Indian Negro who learned to point from one of the Peale-Polk group.

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 19752. *Walpole Note Book*, No. VI.

XII

MRS. JOHN MOALE

(1741-1825)

and granddaughter Ellin North Moale

(1794-1803)

SUBJECTS: (1) Mrs. John Moale (Ellin North) (1741-1825) of Baltimore. She was born in Baltimore April 29, 1741, and died there March 23, 1825. She was the daughter of Robert North, an Englishman from Whittington, Lancashire, who came to Maryland about 1724, and was one of the commissioners who laid out Baltimore Town in 1729. She married, May 25, 1758, Colonel John Moale, a wealthy planter and merchant who was colonel of the Baltimore Town militia during the Revolution, presiding justice of the County Court, and the holder of various other public positions. The Moale's town house occupied the block bounded by Redwood (German), Hanover, Lombard, and Sharp streets; and on, or adjoining, this block, Joshua Johnston had his painting room in 1796 on "German Street between Hanover and Howard streets." The Moale country estate was "Green Spring," some ten miles north of Baltimore in the heart of the valley of that name. Mrs. Moale was a woman of strong character and personality. Portraits of her by six different painters are in existence.

(2) Ellin North Moale (1794-1803), the granddaughter of Mrs. John Moale (1), was born February 7, 1794, and died in 1803. She was the daughter of Thomas Moale (1766-1822) of "Green Spring," and his wife, Eleanor Owings (1772-1853).

DATE: c. 1800

SIZE: Canvas 40½" × 35⅜"

DESCRIPTION: Mrs. Moale, a woman of perhaps sixty years of age, is shown seated three-quarters length, nearly full front. She has brown eyes, greying hair, and a rosy complexion. She wears a white cap of lace and ribbons tied under the chin. Her dress is of mustard colored satin with a white muslin fichu and white lace cuffs. A black net shawl over the shoulders extends down the front of her dress. In her right hand she holds a book in a bright red binding. On the table to the left, covered in light grey, rests a pair of white rimmed spectacles. The chair on which she sits is covered with a dark material fastened with brass-headed tacks. Ellin North Moale, a child of five or six, stands,

three-quarters length, at her grandmother's right. She has red hair, dark brown eyes, and rosy complexion. She wears a high-waisted white dress, and holds in her hand a bunch of red flowers which she is tying together with a red string held in the other hand. There is a claret colored curtain at the upper right. The remainder of the background is dark. The fuzzy appearance of this painting seems to be due to old restoration repainting.

OWNERSHIP: The owner is Mr. Roswell P. Russell of Baltimore. The painting passed by descent from the subject, Mrs. John Moale; to her son, Thomas Moale; to his daughter, Mrs. William Lynch Owings (Sophia North Moale); to her daughter, Alice Owings; to her niece, Mrs. Lewis P. Heiston (Alice Owings); to her cousin, Mr. Roswell P. Russell.

ATTRIBUTION: Family tradition attributes this painting to a slave named *William Johnson* owned in the family of Colonel John Moale. The writer definitely attributes the painting to Joshua Johnston.

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 3671. *Walpole Note Book*, No. VII. *Bulletin Municipal Art Museum* (Baltimore), Dec. 15, 1941.

XIII

MAN OF THE SHURE FAMILY

SUBJECT: The subject cannot be definitely identified. At an auction at the old Shure home at Darlington, Harford County, Md., about 1935, this and another (No. XIV) family portrait were sold. This family, which came from Pennsylvania to Maryland about the close of the eighteenth century, was identified with Darlington and with Shure's Landing on the Susquehanna River which is now under the waters of the Conowingo Dam, and with Baltimore. No living representative of this family can identify with certainty the subjects of these two paintings, viz.—a man holding a chart, probably a Chesapeake Bay captain, and a young girl. They are not companion paintings in size so may not be husband and wife—perhaps they are father and daughter.

DATE: c. 1810

SIZE: Canvas 28" X 24"

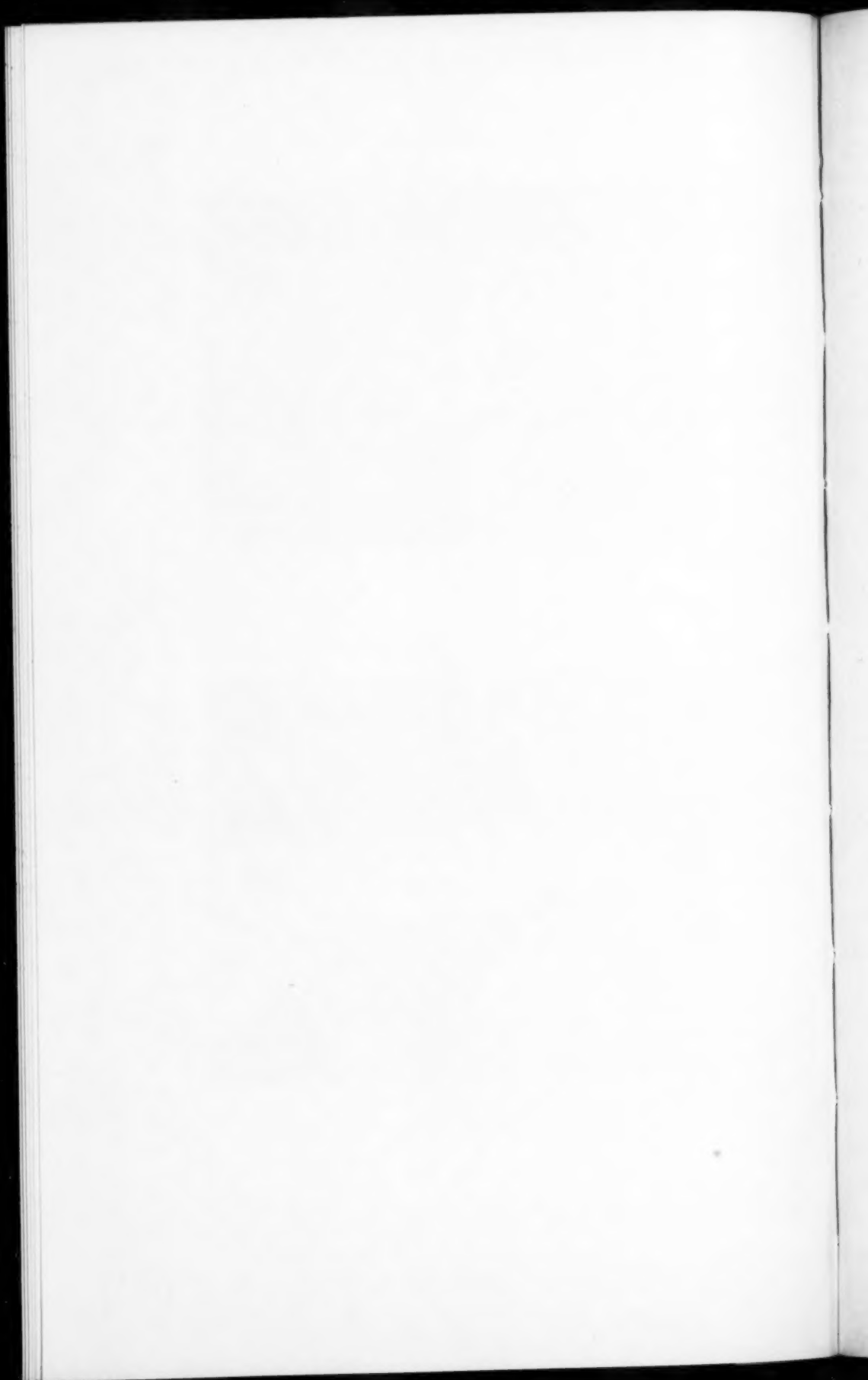
DESCRIPTION: Half-length seated figure of middle-aged man, turned one-quarter to left. He has blue eyes and brown hair. He wears a white stock and white waistcoat; coat blue black with brass buttons. He holds in his left hand what appears to be a chart. He is seated on a chair covered with dark red material. An open casement with a distant water view and ships, and hills, is seen to the upper left.



NO. XIII. MAN OF THE SHURE FAMILY



NO. XIV. WOMAN OF THE SHURE FAMILY



OWNERSHIP: The owner, Mr. John Schwarz of Baltimore, acquired this portrait and No. XIV at the Shure auction sale noted above.

ATTRIBUTION: The writer feels certain that this and No. XIV are both by Johnston.

REPRODUCTION: Owner's photograph.

XIV

WOMAN OF THE SHURE FAMILY

SUBJECT: The subject cannot be definitely identified. At an auction at the old Shure home at Darlington, Harford County, Md., about 1935, this and another (No. XIII) family portrait were sold. See No. XIII for discussion as to the identity of both subjects.

DATE: c. 1810

SIZE: Canvas $25\frac{1}{2}'' \times 17\frac{3}{4}''$

DESCRIPTION: She has blue eyes, very dark hair, and fair complexion. She wears a black dress trimmed about the neck and cuffs with white lace; and a white cap. She wears a gold necklace with a topaz fastening and gold and diamond earrings. She holds in her left hand red flowers with green leaves. There is a diamond pin on her dress to left. She is seated on a mahogany sofa with brass-studded tacks and holds a partly open book in her right hand. The background is dark olive green.

OWNERSHIP: This portrait is owned by Mrs. Lawrason Riggs of J., Brooklandville, Md., who acquired it from Mr. John Schwarz. It came from the home of the Shure family at Darlington, Md. See note under XIII for a discussion as to the subject's identity.

ATTRIBUTION: There is no tradition as to the painter of this and the other Shure portrait. The writer is certain this and the other Shure portrait (No. XIII) were painted by Joshua Johnston.

REPRODUCTION: Schaefer photograph.

XV

BENNETT SOLLERS

(c. 1780-)

SUBJECT: Bennett Sollers, a Maryland planter who lived near Prince Frederick, Calvert County. He was born about 1780. The date of his death has not been learned. He was the son of James Sollers, also a Calvert County planter, and his second wife, a Miss Elt. He married before 1813 a Miss Rhodes. As far as can be learned the subject never lived in Baltimore.

DATE: c. 1810?

SIZE: Canvas $28'' \times 24''$

DESCRIPTION: The subject, a man of perhaps twenty-five, is shown three-quarters length, seated on an Empire mahogany chair covered with a red material attached to the chair frame with brass-headed tacks. He faces the spectator one-quarter front to the right. His eyes are grey and his hair and sideburns a light reddish brown. He wears a light coat with brass buttons, a single-breasted yellow waistcoat, and white stock. In his left hand he holds on his lap a writing board, and in his right hand a gold pencil. A large book rests on a table to the right. The background is dark.

OWNERSHIP: Present owner is Mrs. Paul Iglehart of Baltimore. The painting passed from the subject to his son, Augustus R. Sollers, a member of Congress; from him to his daughter, Mrs. Joseph A. Wilson (née Sollers); and finally to her daughter, Mrs. Paul Iglehart.

ATTRIBUTION: The owner says that she knows of no tradition in her immediate family as to who the painter was. The writer feels certain that the painting is by Joshua Johnston.

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 19733. *Walpole Note Book*, No. VIII.

XVI

CAPTAIN THOMAS SPRIGG

(c. 1765-1810)

SUBJECT: Thomas Sprigg was a sea captain of Prince George's County, Maryland, who later settled in Washington County, Western Maryland. He was born about 1765, and died July 10, 1810. He was the son of Joseph Sprigg (1736-1800), who held various public offices in Prince George's and Frederick counties. It seems probable that the Captain Thomas Sprigg, who married in Baltimore, April 26, 1803, Harriet Minsky, was this subject.

DATE: c. 1805-1810

SIZE: Canvas 36" X 30"

DESCRIPTION: The subject, a man of perhaps twenty-five or thirty years of age, is shown seated. He faces the spectator turned one-quarter to the right. He has dark grey eyes and his brown hair is tied behind with a ribbon. He wears a black coat, white waistcoat, white stock, and grey breeches. He holds a sextant in his right hand and his left arm rests on a wood table upon which lies a partially open rolled map or chart and a measuring compass. At the upper right there is to be seen through an open casement a view of trees and a harbor with ships. The background is dark grey.

OWNERSHIP: The owner is Mrs. Brodnax Cameron of Baltimore, who is a great-great-niece of the subject. It passed by direct descent to a granddaughter of the subject from whom Mrs. Cameron purchased it.



NO. XVII. JOHN SPEAR SMITH
(1786-1866)



NO. XVIII. MARY BUCHANAN SMITH
(Mrs. John Edward Mansfield)
(1788-1868)

ATTRIBUTION: The owner says that according to family tradition this portrait was painted by Charles Willson Peale. The writer definitely attributes this painting to Joshua Johnston.

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 19813. *Walpole Note Book*, No. IX.

XVII

JOHN SPEAR SMITH

(1786-1866)

SUBJECT: John Spear Smith of Baltimore was born there November 27, 1786, and died November 11, 1866. He was the son of General Samuel Smith (1752-1839) of "Montebello," near Baltimore, a prominent merchant, who was Secretary of the Navy under Jefferson, Representative and United States Senator from Maryland, Mayor of Baltimore, and commander of the American forces when Baltimore was attacked by the British on September 12-13, 1814. The subject was a lawyer and attaché of the United States Legation in London, 1809-1810. He served as aide to his father who commanded the troops in the defense of Baltimore against the British, September 12-13, 1814. He was for many years President of the Maryland Historical Society. He married Caryanne Nicholas, the daughter of Governor Wilson Cary Nicholas of Virginia.

DATE: c. 1797, from the apparent age of the subject. It was doubtless painted at the same time as the companion portrait of his sister (No. XVIII).

SIZE: Canvas 29½" × 24"

DESCRIPTION: This is a three-quarters standing figure of a boy of about ten years of age, facing slightly to the left. He has dark hair and dark eyes and a rather pale complexion. He wears a dark blue coat with white muslin collar with ruffled edge, white ruffled cuffs, and a gold watch fob at the waist. He holds gloves in his left hand, and a riding crop in his right. The background is very dark.

OWNERSHIP: The painting belongs to the heirs of Miss Sally Randolph Carter, who died in 1939. The painting passed from the subject's parents to the subject, John Spear Smith; from him to his daughter, Mrs. Robert Carter (Margaret Smith); from her to her daughters, Nancy Coles Carter and Sally Randolph Carter of "Redlands," Albemarle County, Virginia; the latter survived her sister and it now belongs to her estate.

ATTRIBUTION: The late owner, Miss Sally Randolph Carter, told the writer that this portrait and the companion painting (No. XVIII) of the subject's sister, were both painted by a Negro slave who belonged to General Samuel Smith of Baltimore, the father of the subject, and the great-grandfather of Miss Carter. The writer feels certain that this

painting is by Joshua Johnston, although what seems to be restoration retouching gives it a rather fuzzy appearance for his work.

REPRODUCTION: Ritchie Studio, Charlottesville, Virginia, photograph. *Walpole Note Book*, No. X.

XVIII

MARY BUCHANAN SMITH

(Mrs. John Edward Mansfield)

(1788-1868)

SUBJECT: Mary Buchanan Smith (Mrs. John Edward Mansfield) of Baltimore and England, was born November 22, 1788, in Baltimore, and died in November 1868 in England. She was the daughter of General Samuel Smith (1752-1839) of "Montebello," Baltimore, a prominent merchant of Baltimore, who was Secretary of the Navy under Jefferson, Representative and Senator from Maryland, Mayor of Baltimore, and commander of the American forces when Baltimore was attacked by the British in September 12-13, 1814. She married, November 25, 1809, John Edward Mansfield of Diggerswell House, Hertfordshire, England. One of her sons, William Rose Mansfield, commander in chief of the British forces in India, was created Baron Sandhurst in 1871.

DATE: c. 1797, from the age of the subject.

SIZE: Canvas 29½" × 24½"

DESCRIPTION: This is a three-quarters length seated portrait of a young girl of about eight years of age. Her right shoulder is turned towards the spectator with her face slightly to the left. Her eyes and hair are dark. She wears a high-waisted white muslin dress, trimmed with lace ruffles at the neck and sleeves, and with a ribbon around her waist. She holds in her lap with both hands a small white dog with bushy tail, an accessory characteristic of several of this painter's portraits. She is seated in a chair covered with dark material. The general background is dark. At the upper left is a red curtain. At the right through an open casement is a view of trees and fields. This is a companion portrait of the painting of her brother, John Spear Smith (No. XVII).

OWNERSHIP: The painting belongs to the heirs of Miss Sally Randolph Carter who died in 1939. It passed from the subject's parents to her brother, John Spear Smith, the subject of the companion portrait; from him to his daughter, Mrs. Robert Carter (Margaret Smith); from her to her daughters, Nancy Coles Carter and Sally Randolph Carter of "Redlands," Albemarle County, Virginia; the latter survived her sister and it now belongs to her estate.

ATTRIBUTION: The late owner, Miss Sally Randolph Carter, told the writer that this portrait and the companion painting (No. XVII) of the

subject's brother, were both painted by a Negro slave who belonged to General Samuel Smith of Baltimore, the father of the subject and the great-grandfather of Miss Carter. The writer feels certain that this painting is by Joshua Johnston, although what seems to be restoration retouching gives it a rather fuzzy appearance for his work.

REPRODUCTION: Ritchie Studio, Charlottesville, Virginia, photograph. *Walpole Note Book*, No. XI.

XIX

ISABEL TAYLOR

(c. 1785-)

SUBJECT: Isabel Taylor of Ireland and Baltimore, and probably later of Atlas, Illinois. She was a niece of Henry Long (1774-1850) (No. VII), who came from Belfast, Ireland, and was a successful merchant in Baltimore. She was sent for by her uncle when a young girl, educated in Baltimore, and later helped to bring up his two elder sons after the death of their mother in 1812. She was an "uncompromising Presbyterian." It is not believed that she married. Nothing further has been learned about her, except that her lover died at sea.

DATE: c. 1805

SIZE: Canvas size unknown.

DESCRIPTION: The writer has only seen a poor photograph of her portrait. The subject is a girl, perhaps twenty years old, shown one-half length, seated on a chair, and facing one-quarter to the left. Her hair, piled high on her head, shows a long curl over the front of her left shoulder. She wears a dark short-sleeved, low-necked, high-waisted dress with a chain and locket about her neck. She holds a letter in her right hand, said to be from a lover lost at sea.

OWNERSHIP: The owner, Mrs. William Binns, of Pittsfield, Ill., is a descendant of Henry Long, in whose household his niece, Isabel Taylor, lived.

ATTRIBUTION: There is no tradition in the owner's family as to who was the painter of this portrait. It is one of the group of four Long family portraits. The writer feels that in the style of painting, pose, and treatment of the features, the painting is typical of Joshua Johnston.

REPRODUCTION: Snapshot of the painting which is in poor condition.

XX

MRS. ABRAHAM WHITE, JR.

(1778-1809)

and daughter

SUBJECT: (1) Mrs. Abraham White, Jr. (Martha Bussey) was born January 16, 1778, and died October 2, 1809. She lived in Baltimore. She was the daughter of Captain Bennett Bussey of Harford County, Maryland. She married, June 2, 1797, Abraham White, Jr., a Baltimore merchant.

(2) Rose Elizabeth White, the daughter of the above, was born July 9, 1807, and died March 4, 1875. She married, February 2, 1837, Abner Neale, and was the grandmother of the owner.

DATE: c. 1809, as indicated by the child's age.

SIZE: Canvas 30" X 25"

DESCRIPTION: The mother, a woman of about thirty, is seated on a Sheraton sofa, and standing at her left side is a child of about two years of age. The mother has blue-gray eyes and light hair. She wears a high-waisted black dress with white muslin and lace guimpe, and with sleeves trimmed with white lace. In her right hand she holds a half-opened book, and her left arm encircles the child. The child is turned slightly to the left towards her mother. She wears a high-waisted muslin dress trimmed about the neck with lace. Her right hand rests on her mother's shoulder and in her left hand she holds a bunch of strawberry leaves and berries. The sofa is covered with some dark material attached to the frame with brass-headed tacks. The background is grey.

OWNERSHIP: The owner, Judge Francis Neal Parke of Westminster, Maryland, is a great-grandson of the older subject and a grandson of the child of this painting, which he has inherited by direct descent.

ATTRIBUTION: The owner says that he was always told by his family that this painting was by Rembrandt Peale and has never heard of any other attribution. While it bears some resemblance to the very early portraits by Peale, at the date of painting, c. 1809, Peale had become sophisticated and was doing his best work; the writer feels certain that this portrait is by Joshua Johnston. While he hesitates to question the tradition in Judge Parke's family, if Johnston had once belonged to some member of the Peale-Polk group, the tradition would be explainable.

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 19656. Walpole *Note Book*, No. XII.

XXI

CHARLES HERMAN WILMANS

(1797-1833)

SUBJECT: Charles Herman Wilmans of Baltimore. He was born September 2, 1797, and died in a steamship accident on the Ohio, January 18, 1833. He was the son of Carl Heinrich Wilmans and his wife, Elizabeth Bedford Bankson, who later, as Mrs. James Beatty, was painted by Johnston (No. III). He married, in Kentucky, July 10, 1825, Anne Maynard Fontaine. The subject's mother (No. III), her brother, Andrew Bedford Bankson (?) (No. II), and the latter's wife and daughter (?) (No. I), were also all painted by Joshua Johnston.

DATE: c. 1804 from the apparent age of the subject.

SIZE: Canvas 40" X 33"

DESCRIPTION: A stiff, full length standing figure of a boy of about six years with body and head three-quarters to the right. He has yellow hair, blue-grey eyes, and rather pale complexion. He wears a dark brown suit with white muslin collar, white stockings, and light red slippers with white buckles. He holds white gloves in his right hand and his left arm rests on the muzzle of an upright gun. A white dog with large bushy tail, of the type often used by this painter as an accessory, is seated on hind legs to the left. To the upper right is a dark green curtain with white fringe and white tassel. To the right is an open casement, and seen through it is a vine-covered ruined archway with a view of a distant landscape and large house. The background is dark greenish brown. The floor is tessellated.

OWNERSHIP: The owner is Mrs. Susan T. Horner, of Baltimore, to whom the portrait passed by direct descent. The subject is the maternal grandfather of the owner.

ATTRIBUTION: The owner says that this portrait was painted by a Negro blacksmith, a slave of General John Stricker. Mrs. Stricker was the aunt of the subject's mother (No. III), and of Andrew Bedford Bankson (?) (No. II) and his wife (?) (No. I).

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 4448. Walpole *Note Book*, No. XIII.

WOODROW WILSON ADDRESSES THE CITIZENS OF BALTIMORE, 1896

By HENRY WILKINSON BRAGDON

When did Woodrow Wilson's political career begin? Did it begin when as a boy he formed the ambition to be a statesman like Mr. Gladstone and sway men to great purposes by the power of eloquence, or when during his brief career as a lawyer in Atlanta he argued for free trade before a Congressional Tariff Commission, or not until he agreed to accept nomination for the governorship of New Jersey? In one sense his active political career started in Baltimore in March, 1896, for it was then that he first took part in an actual political battle and addressed his first purely partisan audience, a mass meeting to support Mayor Hooper held at the "Music Hall" (now the Lyric Theatre). By a curious chance a fellow speaker on this occasion was Theodore Roosevelt, then a Police Commissioner of New York City.

Wilson's appearance on the same platform with his future rival for the presidency was apparently the result of a successful course of public lectures on municipal government at Johns Hopkins University. Some of these lectures were published in the *Baltimore News*, and are interesting because they reveal, in part, the political and social philosophy then held by Wilson.

In 1896 there was violent political agitation in Baltimore. The previous November, in an election during which several Negroes were killed and a Johns Hopkins professor suffered a broken jaw, the Democratic machine had been driven out of office after thirty years in power. This result had been achieved by a coalition of the "regular" Republicans, a "Reform League" composed of independent voters of both parties, and the American Federation of Labor—a combination not unlike that which put La Guardia in office in New York City in 1933. Alcaeus Hooper, a "business man in politics," had been elected Mayor, seemingly with a mandate to proceed with multifarious and imperative reforms.

It was not long, however, before Mayor Hooper was at loggerheads with the City Council. The tidal wave of November had swept into the Council a majority of machine Republicans who,

after their long famine, were hungry for the spoils of office. When the Mayor not only refused to make a clean sweep of Democrats in municipal positions, but proposed to fill certain vacancies with Reform League Republicans and even other Democrats, the councilmen revolted. Early in February they threw down the gage of battle by refusing to ratify Mayor Hooper's appointments.

This open breach caused bitterness and dismay among the better elements of both parties. The revelations of graft and incompetence in the city departments had been shocking. It had been shown, for instance, that the police department had connived in election frauds and intimidation of Negro voters, and had "protected" brothels, gambling houses, and what would now be called "the numbers racket." Now, however, the action of the City Council blocked all chance of better administration of this and other departments.¹

It was at this juncture that Professor Woodrow Wilson returned to Johns Hopkins for the ninth successive year to give a course of twenty-five lectures on Administration to graduate students in the department of History, Politics, and Economics. Professor Herbert B. Adams considered Wilson one of the outstanding graduates of his famous department and used to hold him up as a shining example to his later students.² In 1887 only two years after Wilson left Johns Hopkins, he was asked to return to give this course in Administration, a topic in which he had become interested while under the influence of Professor Adams and of his colleague, Professor Richard T. Ely.³

The course was an immediate success and Wilson gave it annually in the second semester from 1888 until 1897. Former students⁴ remember that Wilson impressed them with his mastery of material, ability to shed new light on familiar problems, clarity of presentation; and command of language. During the first lecture series Charles M. Andrews, then a graduate student, wrote his mother:

¹ *Baltimore, Its History and Its People*, ed. by C. C. Hall (New York, 1912), I; W. F. Coyle, *The Mayors of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1919); "Baltimore's Oldest Living Mayor," unsigned article in *The Sun*, October 18, 1936; files of *The Sun* and *Baltimore News* for February and early March, 1896.

² Lyman P. Powell to author, March 26, 1940.

³ Richard T. Ely, *Ground Under Our Feet* (New York, 1938), p. 114.

⁴ Interviews with Charles M. Andrews, John H. Finley, Lyman P. Powell, William A. Wetzel; letter from Edward A. Ross.

One of our best courses this winter has been that of Dr. Woodrow Wilson in Administration. It is a live subject taught by a live man. I am trying to take full notes for they are very valuable. When completed I shall have them bound, as I did those on Roman Law, for they are worth it.⁵

Nearly all graduate students in history, politics, and economics enrolled in Wilson's course, which changed in content from year to year. Men who sat under him were later to be found on the faculties of probably every university of importance in the country.

In 1896 Wilson was to reach a less specialized audience because such was the interest in his particular topic of that year, "Municipal Organization," that he attracted many of the general public. Full and scholarly condensations of a number of his lectures were prepared for the *Baltimore News* by G. B. Lynes, a member of the Historical Department.⁶ The *News* was then the most zealous journalistic supporter of Mayor Hooper and the Reform League. The publication of the lectures was probably due to Fabian Franklin, managing editor of the *News* and formerly a member of the Johns Hopkins faculty; it may, however, have been arranged by the owner of the paper, Charles H. Grasty, like Wilson a Presbyterian and a Virginian.⁷

There is nothing quite like these reports of Wilson's lectures in *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, the only available collection of his early writings and addresses; or in the Woodrow Wilson Collection in the Princeton University Library, the most complete collection in existence. Save for the chapters on local government in *The State*, purely a text-book, very little of his published work before he became Governor of New Jersey deals with municipal politics. The reports in the *Baltimore News*, therefore, are of peculiar interest, because they contain a specific program of municipal reform.

The *News* presented Wilson to its readers as "one of the most eminent lecturers on municipal government in the country,"⁸ "a recognised authority on municipal subjects,"⁹ in whose "exceedingly practical and up-to-date" course the public had taken

⁵ May 7, 1888.

⁶ *Twenty-first Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University* (Baltimore, 1896), p. 56.

⁷ Charles M. Harwood to author, September 17, 1941.

⁸ *Baltimore News*, Feb. 26, 1896.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Mar. 3.

great interest.¹⁰ The paper had high praise for his ability as a speaker:

Professor Wilson unites to a thorough command of his subject a remarkable command of language—he never reads a lecture—and the interest of the audience does not flag for a moment.¹¹

Wilson, originally with an imaginary House of Commons or a reformed Congress in mind, had, of course, trained himself in extemporaneous speech since he was a Princeton undergraduate. In formal lecture courses, such as those at Johns Hopkins, Wilson seems generally to have written down specific references and an outline of what he was to say on small cards which, however, he frequently did not consult. That he was able to interest the general audience which attended his lectures in 1896 is not surprising, for, according to Charles D. Atkins, formerly executive secretary of the University extension in Philadelphia, he had already become "one of the immortals of the American lecture platform,"¹² so much in demand that he received from the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching \$50.00 per lecture instead of the usual \$20.00.¹³ President Patton of Princeton once complained to John Bassett Moore that Wilson had become so popular as a "lyceum lecturer" that he stayed in Princeton only to deliver his course lectures.¹⁴

Whether Wilson could accurately be described as "a recognized authority on municipal subjects" may be open to question; Wilson himself, when he appeared before the Music Hall mass meeting, disclaimed any such epithet. On the other hand it is worthy of note that in his second year as a lecturer at Johns Hopkins his particular topic (under the broad heading Administration) had been municipal government.¹⁵ When during the same year the Brown University Historical and Economic Society organized a series of lectures on municipal affairs, Wilson gave two of them, on January 10 and 17, 1889. According to the *Providence Journal* these lectures were enthusiastically received and were attended by "public officials" including "members and

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 28.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 28.

¹² Letter to author, April 11, 1941.

¹³ Lyman P. Powell, also a former executive secretary of the University Extension, to author, March 26, 1940.

¹⁴ Letter from J. B. Moore to author, July 8, 1941.

¹⁵ *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, VII (1888), 103.

ex-members of the City Council."¹⁶ Further evidence of his success at Brown is the fact that he was engaged to return to Providence during the next academic year to inaugurate a series of lectures on "The State and Social Reform" on November 11, 1889. In this series he was followed by such notables as General F. A. Walker, Edward Atkinson, and Edward Everett Hale. While Wilson certainly could not be ranked with his friend Albert Shaw or his former teacher Richard T. Ely as an authority on municipal government, in so describing him the *News* was exuberant rather than mendacious.

In studying in detail the lectures reported in the *News* one is immediately struck, as in many of Wilson's writings, by his almost doctrinaire admiration of British political practices. In the first lecture to be reported, that of February 6, "The lecturer explained the difference between local government in England and America and the advantages of the former over the latter." These advantages included: central supervision of local government without destruction of local initiative; the union of legislative and administrative functions, making for responsible government; and constant but conservative change in Britain in response to changing needs, as contrasted with American inability to observe their political machinery realistically because of blind adherence to certain shibboleths. In regard to the latter point Wilson characteristically remarked that the Federal Constitution was no sooner framed than it began to be worshipped and as a result it had not been improved. "The lecturer said he knew whereof he affirmed because he had criticized it and had been called unpatriotic and un-American in consequence."¹⁷

Praise of British institutions and advocacy of the two principles of government they exemplified, concentration of authority and fixation of responsibility, appear again and again. On February 24, for instance, Wilson attacked division of powers and multiple elections in city government as "ridiculous":

... the London citizen votes only for the member of the council. He does not delude himself by saying that if ward politicians are elected to the council, he will elect "a mayor with a backbone" to checkmate them; for the mayor's power is not constructive but obstructive. He can stop things but he cannot push them forward. . . .

¹⁶ Jan. 11, 1889.

¹⁷ *Baltimore News*, February 7.

In short, what we have in this country is a mayor to nominate and control all administrative machinery; a finance board to spend the money; a council, checked within by the bicameral system and without by the mayor's veto, to "ordain" the administration about which it knows nothing, and to vote the moneys which it is not suffered to specifically apportion; and, finally, sometimes a State-made and State-controlled police force. This complexity is added to by many boards appointed in every conceivable manner.

The system of checks and balances is futile. The only check that is or can be effective is public opinion. . . . Checks and balances are desirable only for the politician who wants to get in a corner where he can shirk responsibility. The reason we have so many more politicians than statesmen to the square mile in this country is because public servants are so many removes away from direct responsibility to the people.¹⁸

Wilson reserved particular condemnation for bipartisan boards which he termed "an invention of the devil," leading merely to trading of patronage between parties and confusion of issues. Insistence on clean-cut distinction between parties was one of his most tenaciously held political principles, as apparent in the writings and addresses of his academic years as during his active political career where it finally found disastrous expression in his call for a Democratic Congress in 1918.¹⁹

As a remedy for the disintegration and irresponsibility in American city government Wilson rejected the practice of so increasing the powers of the mayor that he became an elective despot, if only because, as his political oracle Walter Bagehot pointed out in criticism of any despotism, there are only 24 hours in the day.²⁰

Instead of centralization of power in one man Wilson offered a scheme not unlike the "Commission Plan" of government first put into effect in Galveston, Texas, in 1901. His proposals, the first three points of a seven-point program of municipal reform, were as follows:

1. That the administrative and ordinance-making power should be concentrated in one body, of which the mayor should be merely the chairman.
2. That there should be a minority of trained officials, chosen by competitive examination, on this governing board.
3. That the elective majority of the council should be chosen by a single act of election on a city-wide ticket.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Feb. 26.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 28.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 26.

The previous lectures make it clear that the first and third points were inspired by British practice. The inclusion of permanent appointive officials in the municipal council was borrowed from Prussian procedure.

From Prussia, too, came the fifth point in this program—that there should be “an enforcement of compulsory citizenship duties” including administration of “poor relief, tax assessment, mercantile arbitration, etc., by a system of committees” with increase of taxes and loss of the franchise as penalties for non-performance. “In other words, self-government must not remain a privilege alone, but become a duty.”²¹

With the possible exception of this advocacy of compulsory office-holding there is nothing so far which would strike anyone familiar with Wilson's political writings as unexpected; in fact, his criticism of the complexity of American municipal government could have been predicted. But it is surprising to discover the following headline of the first fully reported lecture:

PROF. WILSON ADVOCATES MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP
OF GAS WORKS AND STREET RAILWAYS²²

Now it has generally been held that until very shortly before he was elected Governor of New Jersey, Woodrow Wilson was an “old-fashioned liberal.” As Oswald Garrison Villard, who was closely associated with him during his governorship, puts it: “Up to the time he was a candidate for the governorship Wilson was what any fair-minded man would have called a conservative if not a reactionary.”²³ He had attributed the panic of 1907 “to the aggressive attitude of legislation toward the railroads” and had stated that governmental control would “merely mean taking the power away from the people and putting it into the hands of political discontent.”²⁴ He attacked Federal regulation of child labor as an absurdly extravagant extension of power.²⁵ He termed himself “a fierce partisan of the open shop.”²⁶ Earlier than this—

²¹ *Ibid.*, Mar. 3.

²² *Ibid.*, Feb. 26.

²³ *Fighting Years, Memoirs of a Liberal Editor* (New York, 1939), p. 219.

²⁴ James Kerney, *The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson* (New York, 1926), p. 33.

²⁵ “Labor or Personal Power,” an address before the National Democratic Club, April 1 1908, published in *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. by R. S. Baker and W. E. Dodd (New York, 1925), II, 37.

²⁶ Kerney, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

at the time we are considering him—according to all evidence heretofore published, he was a "Grover Cleveland Democrat" who approved not merely of Cleveland's efforts to reduce the tariff but also of his suppression of the Pullman strike. He could not bring himself to vote for Bryan in 1896. Still earlier, while a student at Johns Hopkins, Wilson demurred at Professor Ely's sympathy for organized labor.²⁷ During the same period Wilson, in *Congressional Government*, revealed himself as so blandly unaware of economic realities as to maintain that although there is a large proportion of very wealthy men in the Senate, "their wealth represents no class interest,"—in fact because it is so variously invested, "it represents the majority of the nation."²⁸

There is also a good deal of evidence to support the statement made by one of Wilson's students at Johns Hopkins and quoted by John Chamberlain in *Farewell to Reform* that Wilson believed in "government by noblesse oblige."²⁹ In 1899 Wilson told a meeting of the New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, "I believe that one reason that self-government has gone some crooked courses in this country is because we have so few men of leisure. . . ."³⁰ In his *History of the American People*, forty years before *Oliver Wiswell*, Wilson mourned the passing of the Loyalists from the American scene:

Not a little poise, not a little of the sentiment of law, not a little of the solidity of tradition and the steadiness of established ways of thought and action, not a little of the conservative strength of the young communities had gone out of the country with the Loyalists,—not a little of the training, the pride of reputation, the compulsion of class spirit, the loyalty and honor of a class accustomed to rule and to furnish rulers.³¹

But in treating of city government in the Baltimore lectures in 1896 Wilson sets forth ideas at variance with the usual conception of his early social philosophy. He points out and reiterates that there must be an extension of the sphere of city government and that the interest of the well-to-do is not the interest of the city as a whole. In these lectures he appears more like the Wilson who in 1912 preached "the New Freedom" than the Wilson who

²⁷ Ely, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

²⁸ *Congressional Government* (fourth ed., Boston, 1887), p. 225.

²⁹ *Farewell to Reform* (New York, 1932), p. 283.

³⁰ "Spurious Versus Real Patriotism in Education," October 13, 1899, reprinted in *The School Review*, VII (1899), 599-620.

³¹ *History of the American People* (New York, 1902), III, 24.

in 1907 congratulated the traction magnate Adrian Joline on "knocking Bryan into a cocked hat." So interesting are these portions of Wilson's lectures that they will be presented in detail.

In his lecture of February 24 Wilson said:

We cannot look to the selfish interest or leading classes alone to advance the interests of the city. . . . They will insist upon a good police system, perhaps, but they will not be inclined to insist upon thoroughness of sanitation in those parts of the city which they do not occupy, nor will they urge the city to provide in general that higher education which they can provide for themselves. The upper classes often, likewise, make their wealth tell corruptly on the way in which the city makes its expenditures, so as to secure more than their share of advantages from the outlay for paving, lighting, locomotion, preparing of districts for occupation, etc. The wealthy classes cannot, therefore, be relied upon to promote the delicate and difficult tasks which arise from the masses of men being economically dependent upon the city. Their interest, in short, is a special interest. The only wholesome power can come from a general interest.

And how shall the interest of the whole body of citizens be protected?

I answer by giving the city more important, wide-reaching and conspicuous functions. People are always interested in what they feel immediately concerns them. If, therefore, the convenience of the citizen is touched constantly by the action of the city administration, he will be much more apt to take care that the city be pure. Hence, I believe in the municipal ownership of the gas system and the street railways, both because the way in which they are managed affects the whole community, and likewise because municipal ownership would lead citizens to take a greater interest in municipal affairs.

A modern industrial city, said Wilson, is not an economic corporation with the property holders as chief stockholders, but "a humane economic society."²²

On February 27 Wilson in talking of the police duties of cities referred to private ownership of gas works as "a pernicious principle" because "water works and gas works are not something devised for the benefit of private companies, but for the whole city."²³

On February 28 Wilson was asked whether he would advocate municipal ownership of Baltimore's utilities if the government were in the hands of the existing City Council. "Heaven forbid

²² *Baltimore News*, Feb. 26.

²³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 29.

it!" he replied, and explained that he would advocate extension of municipal functions only after reform of the machinery of government. But in considering "the City Budget" he reiterated and made more explicit his previous contentions.

He attacked both in theory and practice the New York City Board of Finance, elected only by those paying \$250 rent per year or possessing taxable property in excess of \$500, because "the modern industrial city, with its wide social functions, must act in many things involving the heaviest expenditures, not for property owners, but for the working and economically dependent classes." He therefore did not believe "that the persons who pay the largest taxes are the best judges of the needs of a city," and he cited Princeton borough as an example:

In Princeton . . . we have an illustration of the control of public improvements in accordance with the desire of the poorer classes. Streets in the poorer districts of the town were improved first. Now that is not what a body of wealthy property-owners would arrange to do. Yet—unpalatable as the truth may be—the management of affairs by these poorer classes—mostly Irish and negroes—has resulted in a better condition of things than if it had been left to the educated classes. These poorer districts threatened the health of the town, and the improvement of the streets effected improvement also in the condition of sanitation and drainage.

Wilson concluded this lecture by insisting again on the proposition he had previously laid down, that a city was "not an economic corporation, but a humane economic society."⁸⁴

Finally, on March 2, as point four of the seven-point program of reform already mentioned, Wilson maintained:

There should be a widening of city functions, but not without a better organization of city government. Then, and not till then, should the city undertake the ownership of the gas system and street railways. Under such conditions also rapid transit should be operated by the city, and so managed that lines should be provided to relieve congested parts of the city, whether those lines paid financially or not. Charity should likewise become a municipal function, although not to the exclusion of private charity. Yet public charity should be so thorough as to be independent of private charity, and should be made the imperative legal duty of the whole. The same arguments as are valid for the need of public sanitation are valid also for the need of public charity and the latter even more than the former. For public charity and public education are a sort of moral sanitation.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 29.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Mar. 3.

All this is not an isolated early statement on Wilson's part that there should be an extension of the sphere of government. He once told a colleague, Professor Winthrop M. Daniels, that his economic ideas had been influenced by John B. Clark's *The Philosophy of Wealth*.³⁶ This is confirmed by a remarkably warm and enthusiastic letter from Wilson to Clark, written in 1887. In this letter Wilson introduced himself to Clark and stated that the book had fertilised his thought in his special field of politics and had refreshed and cheered him. "A sane well-balanced sympathiser with organized labor," wrote Wilson, "is very dear to my esteem. . . ." He concluded by writing that he expected to read the book again and again and hoped he might be allowed to subscribe himself Clark's sincere friend. This was the beginning of a warm friendship between the two men.³⁷

The Philosophy of Wealth had attacked orthodox *laissez-faire* economics with its basis on the presumed all-compulsive acquisitive instinct of the "economic man" as unrealistic and unchristian. Although ruling out immediate Socialism as an attractive but impracticable panacea, Clark advocated in large a gradual approach to a more cooperative and a more truly Christian society and in detail a recognition of labor unions as inevitable and right, the greater use of arbitration in disputes between management and labor, social legislation, an increase of cooperative societies, and an organized Christianity more interested in promoting social justice than in deriving rents and contributions from wealthy pew-holders.

Wilson's lecture on "The State and Social Reform" before the Brown Historical and Economic Society on November 11, 1889, clearly revealed Clark's influence. We must, Wilson then declared, devise a new political philosophy to fit an age when each man seems the rival of every other man, "planning how he can outstrip his fellow," when "men say that 'business is business' which means that business is not Christianity." In these circumstances many have turned to Socialism, some of them simply because they have read a fanciful novel (obviously a reference to Bellamy's *Looking Backward*). Socialism if ever realized would be "the golden age of civilization" and every one who believes in

³⁶ Winthrop M. Daniels to author, March 30, 1940.

³⁷ John Bates Clark, *A Memorial* (privately printed, 1938), p. 20; conversation with Alden H. Clark, February 22, 1941.

the perfectibility of man must be "within careful bounds, a socialist," but it is not an immediate possibility. Nevertheless, government *must* be recognized as "a beneficent and indispensable organ of society" because "nowhere but in government is society recognized as an element." We must look to government to guarantee equality of opportunity; specifically, it should control hours and wages, sanitary conditions, the labor of women and children, and natural monopolies.³⁸

It would appear, then, that Wilson's supposed "conversion" to progressivism when he became Governor of New Jersey was not a complete break with past beliefs, but was instead a development of a point of view forcibly stated long before. It may seem difficult to resolve the seeming discrepancies between the social and political philosophy expressed in Providence in 1889 and Baltimore in 1896 and the more conservative attitude revealed by many of his early speeches and writings. But Wilson's ideas cannot be made to fit any ready-made category; as he once told Professor Robert McN. McElroy he was a "Christian anarchist" who subscribed to no body of belief save that found in the New Testament.³⁹ He tried to judge contemporary problems on their merits according to what he once termed "the great English gospel of Expediency."⁴⁰

There were two final planks in Wilson's platform of municipal reform for which the background was evidently supplied in lectures not published in the *News*:

Sixth—There should be a separation of the judicial from the administrative functions of city government—except, perhaps, in the case of police courts for passing upon offences against city ordinances. Popular election of judges should some day be done away with, although it is likely that the day is still far distant when this can be accomplished. But everything comes to those who wait—and know what they are waiting for.

Seventh—There should be a certain amount of wise central control in the interests of administrative integration. This will be the concluding subject of the course and I will take it up for discussion to-morrow.⁴¹

It is unfortunate that the *News* did not publish this final lecture of the course, because it would be interesting to know spe-

³⁸ This speech was reported fully but ineptly in both the *Boston Herald* and the *Providence Journal* of November 12, 1889. In the summary here printed both newspapers have been used.

³⁹ R. McN. McElroy to author, November 20, 1940.

⁴⁰ *Mere Literature and Other Essays* (Boston, 1896), p. 158.

⁴¹ *Baltimore News*, Mar. 3.

cifically how Wilson proposed to reconcile "wise central control" and the autonomy necessary to vigorous local institutions. That this was a problem he considered of the utmost importance is revealed by his essay, "The Study of Administration," published in the *Political Science Quarterly* of June, 1887. He concludes this article by contending that if the United States can successfully 'interlace' local and Federal self-government, "we shall again pilot the world"; and he suggests that solution of this problem may in turn lead to a confederation of the great states of the world.⁴²

Wilson's former students remember that without in any sense playing to the gallery he often seasoned his materials with wit, but naturally few of them can remember particular sallies. A few of them appear in the *News* and it may or may not be significant that two of them deal with Congress and Congressmen. In discussing the absurdity of separation of powers Wilson said on February 26:

Did you ever notice the debates in Congress on the Letters of the Secretary of the Treasury? The Congressmen discuss what this passage may mean, and what the Secretary had in mind in that, as if they had discovered a medieval manuscript in some old monastery, of which the key had been lost. All this time the writer is at the other end of the avenue.⁴³

On February 28, after remarking that Washington was a handsome city because it had not been administered by property-holders for their own benefit, Wilson went on:

Hence we have a Capital which is a place for delectation—so attractive that Congressmen are anxious to go there and do nothing after they get there but enjoy it. . . . There is no overcrowding of houses in tenement districts, but, instead, magnificent open spaces corresponding to analogous open spaces in the minds of the national legislators.⁴⁴

Wilson finished his lecture course on the afternoon of March 3 and in the evening of the same day came the climax of his stay in Baltimore, for then he and Theodore Roosevelt began their political relationship by addressing three or four thousand citizens of Baltimore on behalf of Mayor Hooper and the Reform League.

On that afternoon the *Baltimore News* made the coming meet-

⁴² *Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, I, 157-158. The essay was republished in the *Political Science Quarterly*, LVI (1941), 481-506.

⁴³ *Baltimore News*, Feb. 28.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 29.

ing its feature story, occupying a right hand column on the first page. The gathering would be "composed of citizens, irrespective of party, who believe in good government" and who would inform the City Council "what the people thought of their anarchistic tendencies." Mr. Roosevelt, "one of the leading Republicans of the country" was presented as the major attraction, but Wilson was presented as what might now be called the "second feature":

Another distinguished speaker will be Prof. Woodrow Wilson of Princeton College, who has been delivering lectures at the Johns Hopkins University on municipal government. He is a recognized authority on municipal subjects and his work on Congressional government is regarded by scholars as the best of its kind published in a generation. In addition, he is an effective and eloquent speaker.

In addition to Roosevelt and Wilson five prominent citizens of Baltimore were to address the meeting. Mr. Joseph Packard, President of the Reform League, was to call the meeting to order and Mr. Charles R. Levering was to preside. The other speakers were to be Messrs. George Whitelock, George R. Gaither, and Charles J. Bonaparte who was later to be a member of Roosevelt's Cabinet.

On the same page, next to the news that the Italian ministry was to resign as a result of Italian defeats in Abyssinia, is a report that Mr. Bruce's bill to give the Mayor of Baltimore absolute power of appointment had come to a final reading in the Maryland Senate. As law students at Virginia University William Cabell Bruce and Wilson had been bitter rivals for the principal prizes in literature and debating—Bruce being successful in gaining both prizes. Bruce in 1896 was President of the Maryland Senate and was to have a notable career which included winning the Pulitzer Prize for a biography of Franklin and a term in the United States Senate. His contests with Wilson at the University resulted in the first recorded personal enmity in Wilson's life.⁴⁵ In supporting Mayor Hooper, therefore, Wilson happened to be working for a common cause not only with the most important political rival of his later years, but also with the most eminent antagonist of his youth.

⁴⁵ William Cabell Bruce, *Recollections* (Baltimore, 1936), pp. 69-80; A. W. Patterson, *Personal Recollections of Woodrow Wilson* (Richmond, 1929), pp. 14-18.



Of the three other important Baltimore newspapers—the *Sun*, the *Morning Herald*, and the *American*—only the *Sun* carried any advance notice of the Music Hall gathering, but all reported it at length the next day, devoting to it from three to five full columns and all but the *Morning Herald* making it the subject of editorial comment.⁴⁶ The accounts naturally differ according to the political views of the various journals.

The *News*, organ of the Reform League, was naturally the loudest in acclaim of the meeting. It termed it a "Monster Non-Partisan Assemblage" which had spoken "with no uncertain sound on the revolutionary and anarchistic course of the spoils-mad servants of the people." That 3500 crowded into the hall in spite of the bitter weather and the competition of De Rezske and Melba singing "Romeo and Juliet" with the Metropolitan Opera Company was evidence that "right-thinking people" were at last aware of their power and that "public conscience is awakened from the lethargic condition into which it lapsed under ring rule."

Each of the speakers, according to the *News*, made "a distinct hit." Theodore Roosevelt's remarks were "especially burning," and Woodrow Wilson, "an eloquent talker," made "a pleasing address." The *News* achieved the distinction of publishing what is almost certainly the first political caricature of Wilson, along with others of Bonaparte, Roosevelt, and Whitelock. The artist, while not achieving a likeness of Wilson, has emphasized, as did scores of cartoonists later, his pointed nose and long lower jaw; he has portrayed both Roosevelt and Wilson using the same gesture—a forefinger pointed at the audience.

The *Sun*, which had been supporting Mayor Hooper, gave an even more detailed if less panegyric account of the meeting than did the *News*, mentioning Emerich's orchestra which entertained the assembly before it was called to order and between speeches, the two hundred vice-presidents sitting on the stage behind the speakers, and the great demonstration when Mr. Roosevelt appeared. The *Sun* estimated the number in the hall at 4000. It printed all the speeches *verbatim*.

Roosevelt, addressing the crowd as "fellow Americans," chose to emphasize the harm the Councilmen were doing to the Re-

⁴⁶ With one noted exception the quotations from these newspapers are from the issues of March 4, 1896.

publican Party. He likened the Council to a mule on a Mississippi steamer which ate up a placard on which its destination was written, whereupon a colored deckhand remarked, "Captain, he's dun et up the place whar he was going at." Baltimore must see to it that the Councilmen, who are by way of destroying the party they were elected to serve, be held to a "rigid accountability" for their misdeeds. If they are reasonable, they must be made to listen to reason; "if they are of the cattle with whom you cannot reason, make them understand some other way." Similar situations had appeared in New York, where officials had been voted in "who thought their duty was only to take the place of the scoundrels they had displaced." Of the bills Roosevelt had introduced when a member of the New York legislature he was proudest of that which gave the Mayor of New York the sole power of appointment; it had been passed "on the ground that we wanted one man and not a small mob responsible for the appointments. If we elected the wrong man and got a bad mayor, we got it in the neck and we deserved it."

Wilson's address was the shortest of the evening. In it, as in many of his campaign addresses after he had entered politics, he rang the changes on one simple point. Evidently he easily mastered his audience because the *Sun* notes "applause" and "laughter" more frequently for him than for any other speaker. Since this is probably Wilson's first political speech, it is herewith given in full:

I know that this meeting has been called to protest an action of the City Council, but I wish to express my obligation to the City Council for giving me the opportunity of appearing on this stand as a citizen of Baltimore. I can speak of myself as a Baltimorean, I think, for I spent several years in this city and have been a regular visitor here since I left.

For the last two or three weeks I have been lecturing at the Johns Hopkins University, and the subjects of my lectures have been so timely that I have had the best advertising I ever had. I suddenly found that I had become an authority upon municipal government, simply because I got in the position of agreeing with the best people in town.

A scene like this to-night ought to suggest to the members of the City Council that they should have themselves nominated for reelection (Laughter). No Council for years has stirred up so much feeling, and, by offering themselves for reelection the Councilmen can readily ascertain what that feeling is.

What I want to know is whether you who are here to-night have come to this meeting "to stay?" By that I mean whether this will be a dis-

play of spasmodic strength on your part, or whether you will go forth to put your shoulder to the wheel of good government. All I say is that if you have come 'to stay' the City Council has not (Cheers). Take up the sword before you take up the horn.

The motive of this meeting is to show that the last election meant something and that the next election will mean something (Applause). The next is more important from the politicians' standpoint than the last (Laughter). Before the last election there was a tacit understanding that the city government should be reformed as you intended it should be. The question of machineries and arrangements are not questions of this moment. If any of these spoilsmen says that he did not comprehend that understanding, he may not be a knave but he is certainly a fool (Applause).

I am a believer in the long processes of reform. Everything will come as you mean it if only you continue to mean it. The old saw says that everything comes to him that waits—if he knows what he is waiting for. By knowing what you propose and maintaining a strict abiding by that purpose you must necessarily finally attain the ends which you have been and are even now striving for.

In the struggle between Mayor and Council the *Baltimore American* had stood squarely behind the aldermen. It had characterized Mayor Hooper's appointment of Democrats to office as no less strange than would be the appointment by a Catholic prelate of a rabbi to carry out an important Church mission.⁴⁷ Its account of the Music Hall gathering did not, however, differ greatly from that in the *Sun*. It admitted the hall was "well-filled," and gave excerpts from Wilson's speech without comment. But in an editorial it maintained that a Police Commissioner of New York City had no business telling Baltimore how to run its affairs: Roosevelt had been imported because he was needed to fill the house: "The opera needed a New York prima donna to attract the people in spite of the fact that the roles were very well filled and the chorus large and well trained."

The *American* also pointed out that the Reform League did not have matters all its own way because "Republican Clubs all over the city were holding meetings, and adopting strong resolutions expressing the most unbounded confidence in the city councilmen who have set themselves against Mayor Hooper. . . ." On the same page as the story of the Music Hall meeting the *American* reported meetings of the "the James G. Blaine Club of the First Ward," "the Union League Club of the Twentieth Ward,"

⁴⁷ *Baltimore American*, Feb. 26.

"the Young Men's Republican Club of the Sixth Ward," and half a dozen similar organizations who collectively professed to fear dictatorship and denounced the Mayor as a man who had betrayed his party.

The *Morning Herald* had also been ranged against Mayor Hooper, but in a less partisan spirit than the *American*. On the evidence of its treatment of the mass meeting of March 3 the comic spirit must have been hovering over its press room even before the advent of H. L. Mencken. In a story entitled "ROOTING FOR HIS HONOR" the *Herald* poured ridicule on the whole proceeding. It estimated the crowd at only 3000 and implied that a good proportion of that number was to be found in the galleries reserved respectively for ladies and for a "numerous and enthusiastic" delegation of colored people. The speakers devoted themselves to flaying the Councilmen and "Every now and then some one in the gallery who was asking for even more contumely to be heaped on the Councilmanic heads urged the speaker to 'give it to 'em' and the advice was usually heeded." The *Herald* remarked of "Teddy of New York":

When he talked his mouth took on that teeth-gnashing bulldog expression which is a true index to his determined character. He talked for awhile about affairs in New York; how rotten they were before he took hold of things and how purified they have since become.

As for "Professor Woodrow Wilson, of Princeton College, and a Johns Hopkins University Man . . . introduced as an authority on municipal government," according to the *Herald*, "he talked much of Civil Service Reform and the like. . . ." Wilson had not mentioned civil service reform; the *Herald* reporter was obviously attempting to give the impression that here was just another impractical professor pleading to make jobs dependent upon competitive examinations.

The great mass meeting failed to overawe the councilmen and the breach between them and Mayor Hooper continued to the end of his administration. Nor did the citizens of Baltimore heed Wilson's advice to stay interested in municipal reform; in 1897 the Democratic machine returned to power.

This whole adventure, however, must have heartened Wilson in the hope that if he could not realize his ambition for an active political career, he might, like his idol Walter Bagehot, become a "literary politician":

. . . the man to whom, by reason of knowledge and imagination and sympathetic insight, government and policies are as open books, but who, instead of trying to put haphazard characters of his own into these books, wisely prefers to read their pages aloud to others. A man who knows politics and yet does not handle policies.⁴⁸

He had obviously made a personal triumph, for in 1897 his lectures at Johns Hopkins were again attended by "persons from the city," about sixty in number. "An evidence of appreciation of Professor Wilson's public instruction was seen in a gift of \$50 by two ladies for the purchase of standard books of historical and political science for the benefit of the University."⁴⁹

It is possible that Wilson's speaking on municipal reform in Baltimore in 1896 may have helped to nominate him for the Presidency in the Baltimore Convention of 1912. In March, 1940, the *Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine* published an article on Newton D. Baker's part in the 1912 Democratic Convention and in this account it is suggested that Wilson's "interesting address at the Lyric about 1900 on the purely local contest then on between the mayor and the city council" had helped to predispose many Baltimoreans in his favor.⁵⁰ Furthermore, Charles H. Grasty and Fabian Franklin of the *News*, which in 1896 had given Wilson 'the best advertising he ever had,' were later to play important parts in making Wilson the Democratic nominee for President. Franklin went from the *News* to the *New York Evening Post* and was managing editor of the latter paper while Wilson was Governor of New Jersey. The *Evening Post* reported his fight for reform in New Jersey as fully as it reported affairs in Albany and was the first New York paper to support his presidential aspirations.⁵¹ Grasty by 1912 had become owner of the *Sun* and strenuously supported Wilson's candidacy. The *Sun*, according to Ray Stannard Baker in the *Life and Letters of Woodrow Wilson*, was a "bulwark of strength." Grasty had corresponded with Wilson for "several years" and in the spring of 1912 had begun to send the *Sun* to all delegates to the Demo-

⁴⁸ *Mere Literature and Other Essays* (Boston, 1896), p. 69.

⁴⁹ *Twenty-second Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University* (Baltimore, 1897), p. 58.

⁵⁰ "Mr. Baker Supports Mr. Wilson," by W. Calvin Chesnut, *Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine*, XVIII (1940), 81-82.

⁵¹ Villard, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-222.

cratic Convention.⁵² Henry Morgenthau credited the *Sun* with creating "an atmosphere of Wilson optimism" in Baltimore with "undoubted effect upon the delegates."⁵³

The Baltimore episode described in the foregoing pages was not an isolated example of Wilson's attracting widespread public notice as a result of his speeches on politics during his professorial years. As early as 1889 he had given an address before the Connecticut Assembly which, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler remembers, attracted a great deal of attention.⁵⁴ His lecture on "The State and Social Reform" in Providence had been the subject of editorial praise in the *Boston Herald* for its value in educating public opinion.⁵⁵ By the time Wilson became President of Princeton in 1902, the first faint efforts to launch him in politics had begun. In May of that year a letter to the Indianapolis *Independent News*, over the pseudonym "Old-Fashioned Democrat," suggested Wilson as the type of man to lead the Democratic party, "a man of affairs, a scholar, a patriot and a man whose very presence inspires enthusiastic devotion."⁵⁶ Among the crowd who gathered to see Wilson inaugurated President of Princeton was William J. Thompson, the Democratic boss of Gloucester County in southern New Jersey who had already conceived the notion that Wilson should run for Governor of the State. Thompson brought a friend to the inauguration solely to get his opinion on Wilson as a possible candidate.⁵⁷ All of which reenforces R. S. Baker's contention that the part George Harvey and others played in bringing Wilson into politics has perhaps been exaggerated, that, in short, Wilson was "his own Warwick."⁵⁸

⁵² R. S. Baker, *Woodrow Wilson, Life and Letters* (New York, 1927-), III, 329-330.

⁵³ *All in a Life-time*, p. 146, quoted by R. S. Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

⁵⁴ N. M. Butler to author, February 4, 1940; chronological index of Wilson's speeches kept by Katharine E. Brand, Special Custodian of the Wilson Papers, Library of Congress.

⁵⁵ November 13, 1889.

⁵⁶ May 5, 1902, clipping in the scrap-book of C. W. McAlpin, Secretary of Princeton University, Princeton University Library; the letter is described in R. S. Baker's *Woodrow Wilson*, III, 6-7.

⁵⁷ "Is the Liar In?," unpublished autobiography of George W. Watt, in his possession.

⁵⁸ R. S. Baker, *op. cit.*, III, 11.

POLITICS IN MARYLAND DURING THE CIVIL WAR

By CHARLES BRANCH CLARK

(Continued from Vol. XXXVI, page 393, "Maryland in the Special Session of Congress, July, 1861")

In his message to Congress, read on July 5, President Lincoln asked for an appropriation of \$400,000,000 and for the raising of 400,000 men in order to make "this contest a short and decisive one." The President's defense of his extraordinary acts since the fall of Fort Sumter was of special interest to Maryland. He believed that the call for 75,000 troops, and the proclamation of the blockade were strictly legal. The call for three-year troops and the increase in the regular army and navy would, he hoped, be ratified "then and now" by Congress, if not strictly legal. The President declared that it had been necessary to the public safety to authorize the commanding general to suspend the writ of habeas corpus; and the act was no violation of the Constitution. This subject engaged the attention of Congress from the first day, and concerned Maryland directly because of the famed Merryman case, that caused so much unfavorable action in that State. Lincoln called to task the "border states—so called—in fact, the middle States," for favoring "a policy which they called 'armed neutrality'; that is, an arming of those States to prevent the Union forces passing one way, or the disunion the other, over their soil." The President very obviously had Maryland in mind since Governor Hicks, in his proclamation calling for Maryland's quota of troops on May 14, had said he hoped Maryland could maintain a neutral position. Such action, said Lincoln, would "be disunion completed. Figuratively speaking, it would be the building of an impassable wall along the line of separation—and yet not quite an impassable one; for, under the guise of neutrality, it would tie the hands of the Union men." Supplies could then be passed freely from them to the insurrectionists, "which it could not do as an open enemy." This would do for the disunionists what they most desired—"feed them well and give them disunion without a struggle of their own." Furthermore, it "recognizes no fidelity to the Constitution, no obligation to

maintain the Union; and while very many who have favored it are doubtless loyal citizens,⁶⁶ it is nevertheless very injurious in effect."

When Congress settled down to the business, the Maryland representatives were only moderately active in the debates. Henry May provided fireworks sufficient for them all, however, and Francis Thomas and Charles B. Calvert did not always pull their punches. Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives on the first day of the special session. Calvert and Crisfield received one vote each. Francis Thomas voted for Francis P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri, and Crisfield, Leary, and Webster voted for Crittenden of Kentucky.⁶⁷ Each of the Maryland representatives cast his vote for a Border stater. In the election of a sergeant-at-arms on the second day, Calvert nominated William L. W. Seabrook, Land Commissioner of Maryland, for the position, and he received the unanimous vote of the Maryland delegation present,⁶⁸ but was not chosen.

The Maryland representatives received appointments on prominent committees. Webster was named on the Committee on Claims and the Committee of Public Expenditures; Calvert was on the District of Columbia, and the Agricultural Committees; Leary, on the Committee on Commerce; Crisfield, the Committee on Public Lands; and Henry May on the Judiciary Committee.⁶⁹

On the 15th of July May, who had not yet taken his seat, was charged by John F. Potter of Wisconsin with aiding and abetting the enemy. He introduced, and the House passed, the following resolution:

That the Committee on the Judiciary be directed to inquire whether Hon. Henry May, a Representative in Congress from the fourth district of the State of Maryland, has not been found holding criminal intercourse and correspondence with persons in armed rebellion against the Government of the United States, and to make a report to the House as to what action should be taken in the premises; and that said committee have power to send for persons and papers, and to examine witnesses on

⁶⁶ Governor Hicks had by this time definitely cast his lot with the Union, and apparently was one of those referred to here.

⁶⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Sess., 37th Cong., p. 4. May did not respond to the roll call on this day.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11. Seabrook was the author of *Maryland's Great Part in Saving the Union*.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

oath or affirmation; and that said Hon. Henry May be notified of the passage of this resolution, if practicable, before action thereon by the committee.⁶⁰

Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts wanted to know what jurisdiction the House had over May, since he had never taken his seat or been qualified as a member. Potter replied that May's name was on the roll, that he was a member of the House, that charges made against him in the above resolutions had also been made in the public newspapers of Washington, and "it is but justice to Mr. May himself that the charge should be investigated."⁶¹ Potter wanted the resolution referred to the Judiciary Committee at once, not waiting for May's attendance. Clement L. Vallandigham of Ohio stated that May had gone to Richmond with the knowledge and consent of the administration, and with the authority of General Scott. Elihu Benjamin Washburne of Illinois denied this but Vallandigham maintained that May had a passport issued by Scott—which could not have been issued without the knowledge and consent of the administration. John A. McClernand of Illinois agreed that May had a pass from Scott⁶² and, although he did not know what May's mission was, he knew May personally and believed him to be a "patriotic and loyal gentleman." Furthermore, May was at that time in Baltimore detained by illness.⁶³ William A. Richardson of Illinois said that May's brother, a physician living in Washington, had told him that Henry May was confined in Baltimore with a "severe sickness," which fact he had been asked to make known to the House if any question should arise. Richardson said that May had been detained in Richmond by illness, and it was "exceedingly improper for the House to take any action in the matter." Vallandigham described May's mission to Richmond as one of "political character, a mission of peace, with the knowledge and acquiescence of the Administration, and by the authority

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² This point is readily cleared up by the following order from Army Headquarters in Washington, June 29, 1861, by E. D. Townsend, Assistant Adjutant-General, who "by command of General Winfield Scott" ordered: "Hon. H. May, of Baltimore and a member of Congress elect, wishing on business of his own to visit Virginia and to return to take his seat in the Capital next week, will be freely allowed to pass and repass our guards and sentinels, receiving from them and all our officers and men due respect and consideration." *Official Records*, Series 2, II, 790.

⁶³ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Sess., 37th Cong., p. 132.

of General Scott; bearing a pass, not in the ordinary form, but entitling him to be passed behind the lines, and after a conference with General Scott, disclosing the purpose for which he went to Richmond." ⁶⁴ Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania wanted to know if the administration was "tampering with the rebels . . . whether there is to be any negotiation, or parley, or truce, except to bury the dead, until every rebel lays down his arms." ⁶⁵ Calvert of Maryland said that President Lincoln had stated to him that May asked for authority to go to Richmond, not to speak for the government, but to go there as a member of Congress. William Kellogg, of Illinois, urged that the friends of May and of the administration, in justice to both, allow the investigation to be made, since there was a difference of opinion over the nature of May's trip. Richardson and Vallandigham urged once again that in justice to May nothing be done until he took his seat in the House.

The day after the passage of the resolution, John A. Bingham of Ohio, acting chairman of the Judiciary Committee, sent a communication to Henry May, inclosing a copy of the resolution passed the day before, saying: "It will be the pleasure of the committee to take up the resolution for consideration as soon as the state of your health may allow." ⁶⁶ On July 18 John B. Hickman of Pennsylvania reported for the Judiciary Committee as follows:

That the gentleman moving the resolution of inquiry (Mr. Potter) was called before the committee, but declared himself ignorant of, and unable to produce any evidence tending to prove, any of the matters referred to in the resolutions, but that they were founded upon newspaper articles only. The committee having nothing before them to implicate Mr. May in holding criminal intercourse and correspondence with persons in armed rebellion against the Government, therefore recommend no action in the case as necessary on the part of the House.

The Committee further report, that the investigation before them entirely relieves the President of the United States and Lieutenant General Scott of any suspicion of a correspondence or attempted correspondence through Mr. May. ⁶⁷

This report was ordered to be printed; and May was given unanimous consent to offer a personal explanation. Fearing that

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Official Records*, Series 2, II, 791.

⁶⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Sess., 37th Cong., p. 196.

he might "not have another opportunity again to be heard,"⁸⁸ May explained fully. He had only "indignation and disgust" for the "unparalleled outrage on the privileges of a Representative" committed by the Judiciary Committee in preferring charges based "upon mere newspaper rumor" and "idle gossip of the hour," without a "shadow of evidence to sustain" them. The committee had violated the principle "that there was some presumption due to the character of a Representative; some respect for the people who elected him; some presumption in favor of the principle of representation." To him personally, "the issue was of the lightest consequence," but he was humiliated for his constituents, "bound in chains; absolutely without the rights of a free people in this land; every precious right belonging to them under the Constitution, prostrated and trampled in the dust." He bitterly condemned the military arrests, searches and seizures, the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and of "hopeless imprisonment inflicted without accusation, without inquiry or investigation, or the prospect of a trial," and appealed to the representatives to redress these outrages.

John Hutchins of Ohio protested that instead of making a personal explanation, for which he had asked permission, May was using the occasion to tell how his constituents were treated by the national government. The Speaker ruled, however, that neither he nor the House, could judge what made up a personal explanation. Whereupon May continued, and said he appealed as one who "from the beginning, has as earnestly and resolutely, as any man in this land, resisted the heresy of secession"; who "has stood faithfully by the Union of these States"; but he spoke also in the "spirit of a citizen who owes obligations higher than these—that highest of duties which binds him to maintain the Constitution of his country." He called upon the "Representatives of the people, if they have the manhood and spirit worthy of their country, to emancipate the down-trodden people of Baltimore from the military tyranny under which they are now groaning, and which has so utterly prostrated their constitutional liberties."

Thaddeus Stevens moved that May was out of order. The Speaker refused to entertain the motion. Stevens was not satis-

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* See pp. 196-202 for subsequent debate and remarks.

fied, and appealed "from the decision of the chair." Vallandigham moved to lay the appeal on the table. Both motions failed and May was allowed to continue. He said that if he was to be subjected to "this sort of interruption and restriction," he would await a better occasion and improved health. He did, however, present the memorial from the Baltimore police. May said that while the language of the memorial was respectful to the House, it was "at the same time in the spirit of citizens fully conscious of their constitutional rights, and resolved to claim them here."

Schuyler Colfax of Indiana questioned May about the report of the newspapers of Richmond, quoted in the *Baltimore Sun*. May was reported to have expressed to "the so-called government at Richmond, the belief that there were thirty thousand men in Maryland who were chafing under their subjugation, and who therefore were ready to rise at the first opportunity."⁶⁰ May denied knowledge of any such article, whereupon Francis Thomas of Maryland handed him a copy. Upon Thomas' request May allowed the clerk to read the entire article. In part, it reads as follows:

The principle bubble upon the wave of Richmond life today, or rather yesterday [July 3] was the arrival of Hon. Henry May, of Baltimore, the successful competitor there, against Henry Winter Davis, the Black Republican candidate. The object of his visit has not transpired, but it is loudly whispered that it looks toward certain events in Maryland, which may have an influence in determining the continuance of the war. The intelligence he brings from there is gloomy enough to make an American weep. According to his statement Baltimore is as effectually under the heel of the tyrant as if the head of every man was in iron fetters. Federal troops are encamped in its squares and patrol its streets, cannon are planted at corners; citizens are arrested for even breathing secession; women are insulted with impunity . . . and in a word, a reign of terror has been inaugurated. . . .

Thirty thousand men are said to be under arms, waiting concerted action. Silently and stealthily they have been preparing for the event which they know must come. . . . *I have ascertained that not less than 8,000 muskets are at this moment concealed and vigilantly guarded night and day.*

. . . My informant believes that a battle there is imminent.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 197-198. The article spoken of by Colfax was a letter written on July 4 from Richmond and published in the *Charleston Courier*, and reprinted in the *Baltimore Sun*. It can be found also in *Official Records*, Series 2, II, 792.

May denied that he knew who had written the article. He could vouch for the fact that no conspiracy existed, but, that "there are thirty thousand men—ay, and more—who unless the heel of oppression is lifted from them, will, if they get the opportunity, vindicate their constitutional rights and liberties, is absolutely right." He himself would be one of them, "on grounds of constitutional rights, and to resist tyranny and oppression . . . on grounds of consecrated and defined legal right." He maintained that his mission to Virginia had been a private one. He went as a mediator, not as a pacificator. Lincoln had not been asked to sanction the mission, but he had not objected to May going on his own responsibility. Neither Lincoln nor Scott, however, were implicated in any way.

Colfax interrupted to say that if May talked to the Confederate leaders as he had just spoken to the House of Representatives, he would have been regarded at Richmond as a Southern sympathizer rather than a mediator. May admitted that he had everywhere "spoken the language of denunciation of tyranny," and that he intended to continue doing so.⁷⁰

At this point Thomas of Maryland asked for and secured permission to speak.⁷¹ He asserted that Maryland in "her heart of hearts," speaking through a majority of her people, approved of the measures of Lincoln and of the way General Banks had exercised his powers in carrying out such measures.⁷² His election and that of his colleagues was proof, said Thomas, that they supported the administration and its military measures. He approved the use of martial law in Maryland, and admitted that the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and the arrest of suspicious

⁷⁰ May had been given permission by Confederate Secretary of War, Leroy Pope Walker, and Albert T. Bledsoe, Chief of the Bureau of War, to "visit Harper's Ferry, or any other point in the Confederacy upon his honor as a man that he will not communicate in writing or verbally for publication any fact ascertained by him." *Official Records*, Series 2, II, 796.

⁷¹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Sess., 37th Cong., p. 199. Philip Johnson of Pennsylvania objected to Thomas making a "stump speech." Thomas said he never made one of that type, but the people he represented did not expect him to remain "dumb as a sheep at a shearing when a challenge to the arena is ringing in my ears."

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 199. At this point there was continued applause on the floor and in the galleries. The Speaker warned the latter he would have to clear them if such demonstrations continued, and told the House members they would be arrested if they applauded. Thomas himself asked that no demonstration as applauding take place, for he would be "mortified" by it.

persons was the constitutional right of the military commanders. The latter supersede "all civil power which stands in the way," he said. In the end Maryland would laud the military even if they "trespassed a little upon the rights of individuals" when suppressing the insurrection and putting an end to attacking troops and burning bridges.

At this point Thomas allowed May to have the clerk read a letter written on May 3 by Police Marshal George P. Kane of Baltimore to Charles Howard, President of the Police Board. May said it would completely vindicate Kane for his conduct on April 19 when he had exposed his life "over and over" again to "protect the troops." The letter intended to show that Kane had been loyal on April 19. May said he knew of no "braver, more honorable or franker man in the land than Kane," and supported him in all but his telegram to Bradley T. Johnson.⁷³ Thomas, however, while not doubting for one moment "the honor or patriotism of Marshal Kane," felt that there were "differences of opinion as to the manner in which public functionaries discharge their duties; and it is this difference of opinion which led to Marshal Kane's arrest. That is all."⁷⁴ Thomas recognized the police commissioners as men of the "first character, socially, privately, and publicly," but as police commissioners they were unworthy of their positions since they sanctioned all that Kane did—"his crimes of omission as well as commission." Thomas expressed his appreciation of General Banks' action in arresting Kane and the Police Board, and for his great courtesy and demeanor in Maryland.⁷⁵

On July 24 a bill was reported in the House by Thaddeus Stevens, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, to appropriate \$100,000 for the payment of the police organized by the Federal government in Baltimore. Not more than \$20,000 was to be

⁷³ When May was arrested in September, 1861, a letter from Kane to him, written on July 6 at Fort McHenry, was found among his papers. It read: "I challenge the world for any evidence impeaching my integrity and any act of my life." May said that unless advised otherwise by his lawyers he intended to investigate the "conduct of those by whom I am held prisoner." *Official Records*, Series 2, II, 796-797.

⁷⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Sess., 37th Cong., p. 201.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 202. Thomas said he was willing to allow Banks to be the umpire between May and himself on deciding Kane's loyalty or disloyalty. May said let the "courts and a jury of the land be the umpires"; whereupon Thomas said: "Not in time of war." *Ibid.*, p. 201.

expended for the purpose in any one month.⁷⁶ Henry C. Burnett of Kentucky was given the floor and roundly denounced the use of military force in Maryland. He said her rights as a sovereign state had been violated by the establishment of this military police commission in Baltimore, and the imprisoning of the lawful body. Burnett was opposed to this service being paid for by the Federal government. William Alexander Richardson of Illinois then engaged in a bitter discussion with Burnett, saying that Burnett was largely "responsible this day for the condition in which the country now finds itself. When he aided, by his counsel, advice, and cooperation, the division of the Democratic party at Charleston and Baltimore, he brought the existing sad calamity upon the Union." Such a scene developed that Stevens said the bill did not require discussion and that he had yielded to Burnett only to give him an opportunity of "vindicating his principles and his position," before the House.⁷⁷ Henry May asked for permission to say "a word or two." Stevens inquired if May desired to ask a question. "I will limit my observations to the consideration of the question," said May. "Oh no," said Stevens, "I do not yield for observations." "I am the Representative of Baltimore," May persisted. But Stevens said he had "already granted too large an indulgence for debate." "Then," said May, "I can only protest, as I do solemnly against the bill. It is a bill to provide the wages of oppression."⁷⁸ Stevens, holding the floor, termed Kane a "traitor," and said the police board was made up of the same type of characters. The legislature had not been appealed to for the removal of these traitors because "every one knows that the Legislature of the State of Maryland is a Legislature of traitors—a rebel Legislature. Its members are deeply imbued with the very principles that have created this terrible war." May called for the yeas and nays on the passage of Stevens' bill, but only eight members supported him. Burnett then called for a division. The question was taken and the bill was passed.⁷⁹ On the next day, July 25, the bill, amended by the Senate, was considered in the Committee of the Whole. May was not present to address the committee as was expected. As amended by the Senate the bill was entitled: "An Act to provide

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 244-246.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

for the payment of the police organized by the United States for the city of Baltimore; and to enable the mint to furnish small gold coin; and to provide for the manufacture or purchase of field signals."⁸⁰ The House concurred in the amendments.

May was persistent in his defense of the Baltimore police commissioners. On July 31 he offered a resolution from "legal authority" in Baltimore. This resolution contained little that May had not previously stated on the floor of the House. He said that since the arrest and imprisonment of the Police Board, a grand jury "attending the United States district court in Baltimore, and selected and summoned by a marshal appointed by the present executive of the United States, having jurisdiction in the premises, and having fully investigated all cases of alleged violation of law," had adjourned its session without finding any "presentment or indictment or other proceeding against them, or either of them."⁸¹ The resolution also stated that the President had not heeded the request of the House of Representatives to disclose the reasons, grounds, or evidence for the arrest of the Police Board. May said that the constitutional privilege of the writ of habeas corpus had been treated with contempt. Resolved, therefore,

That the arrest and imprisonment of Charles Howard, William H. Gatchell, and John W. Davis, and others, without warrant and process of law, is flagrantly unconstitutional and illegal; and they should, without delay, be released, or their case remitted to the proper judicial tribunals, to be lawfully heard and determined.⁸²

The Speaker ruled that the resolution was not in order because the House at the moment was "confined to the consideration of bills and resolutions relating to military and naval operations and financial questions relating thereto, and judicial questions of a general character." May fumed at this, and contended in vain that his resolution related to the military operations of the United States. He asked: "Is it not an allegation of the tyranny prac-

⁸⁰ The small gold coin were to be for the "public service, \$40,000 or so much thereof as may be necessary."—\$5,000 was to be used for the "manufacture or purchase of apparatus and equipment for field signals." The bill became law on July 27 by the President's signature. *Ibid.*, pp. 273, 276, 362.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 288, 367. May had attempted unsuccessfully to introduce this resolution on July 26.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 367.

tised under color of military authority?" He appealed the decision of the chair but withdrew the appeal when Thaddeus Stevens stated that the resolution was actually a speech, and a speech was not in order at that time.

The conduct of May called forth criticism from the *Baltimore Clipper*. It declared that the Fourth District of Maryland was misrepresented in Congress, and that May had concealed his real sentiments until after the June election. Both sides had elected him, thinking him "all right." As it turned out, said this paper, he was "all right" with one side, but "all wrong" with the other.⁸³

May continued, however, to demand for himself and others the right to express their views in the House.⁸⁴ On August 5, however, he joined Calvert of Maryland in pushing the following resolution:

Resolved (The Senate concurring herein), That a joint committee, to consist of nine members of this House and four members of the Senate, be appointed to consider and report to Congress such amendments to the Constitution and laws as may be necessary to restore mutual confidence and insure a more perfect and desirable union amongst these States.

This resolution was laid on the table by a vote of 72 to 39. Maryland's entire delegation voted for the resolution.⁸⁵

May then offered a series of resolutions calculated to procure an armistice between the contending armies, and to "restore peace at all events."⁸⁶ He said Congress should appoint commissioners to "arrange a compromise to preserve the Union, if possible; but if not, then a peaceful separation of the respective states of the Union," those that had seceded, and any others that might take such action. These commissioners should also so conduct "their negotiations as to obtain, if possible, in the future, a happy, harmonious, and perpetual reconstruction of our Union of States." May blamed the Republican party, "founded as it is, on a sectional, social and political question," for the country's misfortunes. It was the uncompromising spirit of this party, he said, that had prevented peaceful compromise when it was possible. If

⁸³ August 1, 1861. The conduct of Maryland's two Senators, to be discussed below, was also censured by this journal.

⁸⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Sess., 37th Cong., p. 411.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 445.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

the war continued, "the only safety and refuge of constitutional government and civil liberty will be found in the constitutions and sovereignty of the several States." In them was the "only hope of a future and more harmonious reconstruction of the Union." The South was too fully prepared and resolved, said May, to be subjugated by force. May's resolution was not acted upon and he left the floor. Shortly thereafter, Alexander S. Diven of New York offered the following resolution:

That at a time when an armed rebellion is threatening the integrity of the Union and the overthrow of the Government, any and all resolutions or recommendations designed to make terms with armed rebels, are either cowardly or treasonable.⁸⁷

This resolution was not received by the House. On the following day, Diven asked permission to make an explanation since he understood his resolution was offensive to some members of the House. He asserted that he had "meant nothing personally offensive," but "simply to condemn a principle and not to question the motives, the integrity, or honesty of anybody who advocated that principle."⁸⁸ May, indicating that he had been offended, volunteered that Diven's explanation was "entirely satisfactory."⁸⁹

Henry May seemed to be earnestly seeking a peaceful compromise. But he preferred to see the Confederacy prosper rather than see states oppressed and constitutional rights and guarantees denied. His congressional speeches were lauded by many of his constituents. It may be true that among those constituents were many whose loyalty had been found wanting or totally lacking. Yet he was their representative as well as the representative of his loyal constituents. After his speech of July 18 on his mission to Richmond, May received a letter from Henry M. Warfield, later arrested as a disloyal member of the state legislature, in which Warfield said:

I can not feel satisfied without thanking you as a Marylander for the noble stand you have taken amongst a powerful opposition which has trampled under foot the glorious heritage once vouchsafed to the humblest of American citizens. May God protect you and give you health and strength. . . .⁹⁰

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 458.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Official Records*, Series 2, II, 796-797. This letter was written on July 19, 1861, and found in May's possession when he was arrested in September.

J. P. Poe of Baltimore wrote to May on the same day commending his speech. The "manner in which you denounced the insolent and contemptible attempt to injure you and the tyrannical usurpation which has trampled our rights here receives the sanction of all those whose opinions are worth anything." Poe was particularly pleased with the stand May had taken because it vindicated Poe's declarations made before the June election to "some who were not disposed to give you [May] their votes that you would if elected do everything that could be done to vindicate the rights and protect the interests of Baltimore." He closed by saying: "It is a consolation to know that our Representative will under all circumstances remain true to us and to himself."⁹¹

Except for May, Thomas, and Calvert, the Maryland representatives were generally inactive on the floor of the House. Calvert strongly supported direct property taxes on July 25 when the additional revenue bill was being considered. He stated that he had come to the House prepared to sanction every measure necessary to carry on the war and he wanted no species of property exempted. Taxes should fall alike upon land, Negroes, and other kinds of property—real and personal. He had no use for temporary measures such as the issuance of Treasury notes at nine percent, and would have voted against the same had he been present at the time the vote was recorded.⁹² Calvert said he realized that odium was attached to a system of direct taxation, but he cared nothing about that odium. "If it is just," he said, "let us adopt it. It is not half as odious as this revolution." He pointed to Maryland's use of the direct taxation system, by which the State had reduced an enormous debt and said that the "odiousness" of the system was not important if it brought satisfactory results.⁹³

Thomas submitted the following resolution, read, considered, and agreed to on July 22:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to inquire into the expediency of providing by law of the United States, the times,

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 797. See a similar letter to May from J. F. Lee, Judge Advocate, U. S. Army, *ibid.*

⁹² This bill passed on July 25. *Congressional Globe*, 1st Sess., 37th Cong., p. 268. Crisfield voted for it, Leary against it, and the votes of the other Maryland Congressmen are not recorded.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

places, and manner of holding elections for members of the House of Representatives in all the States, in pursuance of the authority given to Congress by the fourth section of the first article of the Constitution.⁹⁴

In September Henry May was arrested by order of the Secretary of War and committed to Fort McHenry and later to Forts Monroe and Lafayette. His arrest was contemporaneous with that of Mayor Brown of Baltimore and members of the Maryland legislature. No other congressmen from Maryland were arrested. Their speeches had all been temperate compared with his. May's papers were seized at the time of his arrest. They contained letters from various people and some he had written but never mailed. In one of the latter, dated May 3, May offered Governor Hicks his support in protecting the constitutional rights of Maryland, and stated that he would stand by Hicks "in this mad crusade against the principles of republicanism . . . and resist with their lives the plot of a revolutionary cohort."⁹⁵ In a manuscript, apparently written by May, it was charged that the spirit of the North was "bitter and sanguinary and conducive of discord and not Union and obviously leading to a consolidated or military government." On October 10, 1861, J. Fred May, a brother, wrote to Lincoln in behalf of Henry May, stating that he had been placed in a casemate with thirty-two other political prisoners with their beds crowded against each other. They were made to put out the tallow candles at 9 P. M., and were locked up at 6 P. M. Henry May's only crime, said his brother, was that "while endeavoring to keep the peace in his own State at all times and on all occasions he had been opposed to the policy of your Administration in regard to the unhappy difficulties in which our country is now involved." Fred May stated that Henry's health was giving way, and enclosed a doctor's certificate showing that for six years he had suffered a lung infection. Two brothers had died during the past years from consumption, one was then dying, and unless Henry May was given fresh air and exercise, he would soon follow. No doubt this plea contributed to his release on December 2.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

⁹⁵ *Official Records*, Series 2, II, 790-801. A detailed account of May's arrest, imprisonment, and release is given. The letters and papers found on him at the time of arrest are also printed here.

⁹⁶ *Official Records*, Series 2, II, 790-801.

The special session of Congress had been called merely to approve the acts of the President and to make provisions for prosecuting the war. Except for May, the other representatives from Maryland, without desire to do otherwise, confined themselves to the main business before the House. Their resolutions and the few speeches they made indicated that they would support the administration in its major policies. And they represented Maryland opinion at the time.

Meanwhile, Maryland's senators were active in the other house of Congress. Senator Pearce was a member of the powerful Finance Committee and chairman of the Library Committee, while Senator Kennedy was a member of three Committees—Naval Affairs, the District of Columbia, and Public Buildings and Grounds.⁹⁷ Pearce and Kennedy both participated freely in the debates.

Senator Kennedy spoke on the joint resolution of Congress approving and confirming certain acts of the President in suppressing the insurrection and rebellion.⁹⁸ He declared that he had hoped to refrain from any "factious opposition to the course of legislation," but he could not approve of the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. He saw no necessity for it because Maryland was controlled satisfactorily by its civil authorities. Kennedy said that Governor Hicks and the State's representatives in Congress, elected by a majority of 20,000 votes out of a total 70,000 vote, could suppress any insurrectionary movements in the State without the aid of the United States military. Kennedy also opposed an increase in the standing army. He said it lay outside the President's power to do so. He would support the administration in all "legal and constitutional measures for the reconstruction of the Union," but he opposed coercion when the administration employed it on the plea "of necessity or the extraordinary exigencies of the times."⁹⁹ Kennedy rhetorically asked whether any Senator could justify the suspension of the writ of

⁹⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Sess., 37th Cong., p. 17.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 40. This resolution approved: (1) Lincoln's call for 75,000 troops; (2) his blockade of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas; (3) his proclamation blockading North Carolina and Virginia; (4) his authorization of the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus between the District of Columbia and Philadelphia; and, (5) his proclamation calling to service 42,034 volunteers for the standing army.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

habeas corpus. Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, answered that the April 10th riots justified it in Maryland. "There is no spot on this continent," he said, "none whatever, where there has been blacker traitors than in and about the city of Baltimore—men ready for murder, for any crime—men who were organizing a rebellion in that city, secreting arms that have since been discovered and taken from the men who have been arrested."¹⁰⁰

Kennedy hardly expected such a blast but Wilson's charge was not surprising considering Baltimore's attack on the Massachusetts Sixth Regiment. Kennedy admitted that dangerous and secret organizations had existed in Baltimore, and lamented the attack upon the troops, but asserted that the police and city government of Baltimore had resisted and suppressed the riots and protected the soldiers. Brown and Kane, despite their Southern views to the contrary, had performed their duty at the risk of their lives. Kennedy was "politically opposed" to Kane, but he demanded justice for his stand that day. Kennedy insisted, however, that he was not in the Senate to "vindicate the secession wing of the State," but he desired to place the facts before the Senate. Of the eight thousand arms said to have been seized in Baltimore, the returns, found in the *Baltimore Clipper*, a paper "more fully sustaining the Administration than any other in Baltimore," showed that the whole number of arms was 321, including many worthless arms of all sorts.¹⁰¹ He assured the Senate that this was the "true history of all the sedition and unlawful movement that has caused the military occupation of Baltimore." He expected "extreme political partisans" to deny it and to seek to impugn his motives. Kennedy did not believe that "the armed secession fighting force of Maryland is five thousand men."¹⁰²

On July 17 Senator Pearce presented the memorial of the Baltimore Police Commissioners, in which they claimed that they had been loyal to their duty and begged Congress to interpose in their behalf.¹⁰³ Pearce knew the commissioners personally and believed

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 44. Kennedy added: "Sixty-five of these were pistols that were taken from a mob in former days in a contest between the Governor of Maryland [Thomas Watkins Ligon] and Mayor Thomas Swan of the City of Baltimore."

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

them to be "men of the very highest integrity, personally and politically," and not less "faithful to the Constitution of the United States than they are to the government of their own State and to the duties of office which they have assumed under the authority of the State of Maryland." They had done nothing to make them liable in "a court of common judicature, and therefore nothing which can authorize their military arrest and detention, and the humiliation to the State of Maryland of the superseding by military power, of the civil authorities of the State." The memorial was referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Pearce, on July 22, objected to the bill that would confiscate all property, including slaves, used by the rebels in their insurrection. He feared that slaves everywhere, whether used to aid and abet the rebellion or not, would be confiscated.¹⁰⁴ Actually, he thought the bill could be enforced but would cause additional opposition in the Border states. He said that in such a time statesmen should observe all possible toleration, conciliation, and liberality, and look not merely at the events of the day but at those of the future, "upon which the fate of the country, for weal or for woe, may depend for a century." This measure would inflame suspicions and hatred.

Pearce was in constant touch with leaders of Maryland. Severn Teackle Wallis sent information on the arrest of the Police Commissioners and claimed that when he, in company with Mayor Brown and others, visited Lincoln on April 21, the President reiterated his conviction that the "authorities in Baltimore had acted with perfect 'loyalty,' and that the popular excitement there was an unfortunate fact, which they were not responsible for and could not control."¹⁰⁵ On July 25, Judge Richard Bennett Carmichael, a fellow Eastern Shoreman, addressed Pearce on the same subject.¹⁰⁶ Carmichael quoted from a letter he had received from ex-President Franklin Pierce, which if made public at the time, "would have been regarded at the North as proof of Copperheadism."¹⁰⁷ "For God's sake," wrote Carmichael, "do without

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

¹⁰⁵ Bernard C. Steiner, "James Alfred Pearce," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIX (1924), 24-26.

¹⁰⁶ Carmichael served in Congress from 1833 to 1835. In 1861 he was Chief Judge of the Circuit Court comprising Talbot, Kent, and Queen Anne's counties.

¹⁰⁷ B. C. Steiner, "James Alfred Pearce," *loc. cit.*, p. 26. Pearce had written to Carmichael: "The late call for forty thousand troops for three years, without

a moment's delay, make your speech denouncing this unholy war, and the unconstitutional proceedings with which it has been gotten up, and conducted. . . . Do it for your friends, for your state, and for your Country, and for yourself." Carmichael closed his letter: "I pray you, gird up your loins, brace up your health to the tension of your heart, and let us feel that 'Richard is himself again.' " ¹⁰⁸ Bernard C. Steiner says that, despite this pressure, Pearce's Union sympathies "were stronger than those of the writers, and he did not yield altogether to these importunities. He could not give a bold, clear summons to support the Union, as his former associate Reverdy Johnson did, but did not lose his loyalty to the Nation, in his devotion to the State." ¹⁰⁹

On July 24 Senator William Pitt Fessenden of Maine reported from the Finance Committee a bill providing for the payment of the military police in Baltimore. Pearce, a member of the Finance Committee, said he had not been consulted on the bill and objected to a consideration of it on that day. Fessenden said it was necessary to act at once or the police would have to be discharged, leaving the City of Baltimore without protection and necessarily subjecting it to military discipline. Pearce replied that he should have been consulted since the bill concerned his State and its chief city. Upon the offer of Fessenden to withdraw the bill, Pearce, with equal courtesy, permitted a vote to be taken. He was one of a little band of six Border statesmen who opposed it against a majority of twenty-three. Pearce, however, preferred military police in Baltimore to martial law. Kennedy voted against the bill because he had never "believed in the necessity of superseding the late police force." ¹¹⁰

On July 26 Kennedy presented to the Senate the memorial of

warrant of law, is a usurpation than which scarcely anything could be more dangerous and alarming. This with the invasion of Virginia and the condition of things in Maryland and Missouri changes I concede the whole aspect of affairs. . . . I need not tell you, my friend, if this war means violence to Southern homes and Southern institutions—the subjugation or destruction of our own race in the seceded states—the consummation of the purposes of Northern abolitionism, by arms, on bloody fields, that I not only give it no countenance, but I do denounce it with all the energy of my soul, and I enter against it my most solemn and earnest protest."

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹¹⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Sess., 37th Cong., pp. 242-243. Others voting against the bill were Waldo Porter Johnson and Trusten Polk of Missouri; Lazarus Whitehead Powell of Kentucky, and Willard Saulsbury of Delaware.

the Mayor and Baltimore City Council, in which "They earnestly ask, as a matter of right, that their city may be governed according to the Constitution and the laws of the United States and of the State of Maryland," and that "citizens may be secure in their persons, homes, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, and that they may be not deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."¹¹¹ The Mayor and Council also requested that the "military render obedience to the civil authority; that our municipal laws be respected; that officers be released from imprisonment, and restored to the lawful exercise of their functions; and that the police force established by law be no longer impeded by armed force, to the injury of peace and order in that city."¹¹²

On July 30, Pearce delivered a speech in opposition to the joint resolution approving the President's acts.¹¹³ He had been ill and advised by his physician to avoid the excitement of public speaking, but he felt that he must oppose the resolution. He said that he lamented the political condition of the country, and had "looked upon it as the most important interest of my State, of all others, that the Union be maintained in its integrity." Nothing could be more disastrous to Maryland than a dissolution of the Union. He described the majority feeling in Maryland as follows:

Sir if there had been no cherished recollections of the glories of the past, of that Glorious Revolution, in which we, small in population and limited in territorial extent, as we were, had borne a not inglorious part; if there had been no attachment to that flag, which we had so long been proud to hail as the common standard of the country; still our interests were such as bound us, inevitably, to the cause of the Union. We did not believe in the right of peaceful constitutional secession. We saw no mode of separation from the Union other than revolution and we were not sensible to any grievances so intolerable as to absolve us from our allegiance, and require us to make, or justify in making a revolution, with all its uncertainties and dangers, and the probable or possible consequences, involving not merely our future relations, but our peace, security, prosperity, and happiness for all time. I have not changed a jot of these opinions and feelings from that day to this and it is the prevailing sentiment in my State now. . . .

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 275. The memorial was referred to the Judiciary Committee.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 332-335.

But Pearce was opposed to the use of unconstitutional means to maintain the Union. He denounced the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, saying it would do more harm than good. Why, he asked, should Maryland be placed under such military control when her loyalty was not to be questioned? The best proof of her loyalty was "the remarkable quiet *now*, under all illegal and oppressive practises." Whatever disloyalty there might be grew out of the abuses practised by the Government—the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus—and "these unnecessary, sometimes absurd and always irritating domiciliary visits and searches, which yield no public benefit whatever." Pearce regretted the April 19th episode, admitted it was illegal, and said it was as "prejudicial to the State of Maryland as it was injurious to the government of the United States." But he denied the April riots justified the series of outrages committed on Maryland by the Federal government. Pearce protested against the arrest of the police commissioners, saying that "this police organization is a part of the state system. With as much authority might this government undertake to suppress the Legislature, and put its members in military jails." Actually, as already pointed out, the government was thinking seriously of this latter action. Pearce said he would vote against the joint resolution sustaining the President's acts because, if such acts were legal, it was unnecessary for Congress to approve them, and if "they were illegal and unconstitutional, no power of this Congress can give them any authority whatever."¹¹⁴

Pearce's speech did not meet a favorable reception at the hands of the *Baltimore Clipper*.¹¹⁵ This newspaper declared that Maryland was represented in the Senate just as the Fourth District was in the House by Henry May. It charged that Pearce and Kennedy were ready on all occasions to throw difficulties in the way of the government then struggling for its very existence. The *Clipper* charged that what Pearce said in the Senate was a reproach against the government. It accused Pearce of knowingly making false statements, and of uttering sentiments that were "a libel upon his State." He should resign in favor of some better man.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ See particularly the issue of August 1, 1861.

Kennedy voted on August 2 against the revenue bill by which tariff duties were increased, a direct tax of \$20,000,000 apportioned to all the states and territories, and an income tax levied. He said that since "gentlemen are explaining their votes, and many have put their votes on the ground that this is a war measure, and have said that they will vote for it only as a war measure," he felt himself constrained to say that "as a war measure," he would vote against it. "I am sure my State does not desire war, believing that war is an end of this Union."¹¹⁶

The Maryland legislature on June 22 adopted resolutions protesting against the arrest of Ross Winans, State legislator from Baltimore, and others suspected of conspiracy against the government, and requested that these resolutions be presented to the United States Senate. This was done by Kennedy on August 2.¹¹⁷ They denounced the actions of the national government in such unmeasured terms that when Kennedy asked that they be printed, Senator Morton S. Wilkinson of Minnesota protested, declaring that the resolutions were "an insult to this government." Lot M. Merrill, senator for Maine, objected because they were disrespectful to the President of the United States, and had not been approved and sanctioned by Governor Hicks. Therefore "they do not speak the language of the Legislature," but actually of a "convention."¹¹⁸ A long discussion followed in which Senators John P. Hale of New Hampshire, Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, and James A. Bayard of Delaware, argued that the resolutions should be heard regardless of their nature. Merrill countered that the resolutions were not only unauthenticated but were also an assault upon the very acts of the executive that the Senate had approved in a joint resolution. Senator Kennedy, although not feeling "disposed to vindicate the whole course of the Legislature of Maryland," stated that he could vouch for the "authenticity

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 400. The vote was 34 yeas, 8 nays.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 417. The resolutions read in part: "*Be it resolved*, That the Senate and House of Delegates of Maryland, in the name of and on behalf of the good people of the State, do accordingly register this their earnest and unqualified protest against the oppressive and tyrannical assertion and exercise of military jurisdiction, within the limits of Maryland, over the persons and property of her citizens, by the government of the United States, and do solemnly declare the same to be subversive of the most sacred guarantee of the Constitution, and in flagrant violation of the fundamental and most cherished principle of American free government."

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 418-419.

and entire accuracy" of the resolutions in question. Pearce explained that the Governor of Maryland had no veto power and his signature was, therefore, not needed to make resolutions or laws authentic. Pearce denied that the resolutions were insulting either to the President or the Senate of the United States. He hoped that senatorial courtesy, "which has almost ripened into a right," would permit the resolution to be printed since they came from a state legislature. This courtesy was finally granted.¹¹⁹

Pearce and Kennedy did not speak after this in the special session. The Congress, which adjourned on August 4, passed some important measures. Among others it authorized the acceptance of the services of 500,000 volunteers and a loan of \$250,000,000.¹²⁰ It increased tariff duties, levied a direct tax of \$20,000,000 to be apportioned among all the states and territories, and imposed an income tax. But the Maryland senators were singularly quiet on all these measures.

Two schools of thought were represented by the Maryland delegation in the special session. The first was led by Thomas in the House and Kennedy in the Senate; the other found its leadership under Henry May in the House and Pearce in the Senate. Thomas and Kennedy opposed the policies of the administration, but they believed that above all the Union must be preserved. They deplored the subjugation of Maryland but preferred it to the destruction of the Union. May and Pearce, however, while claiming undying loyalty to the Union, placed the Union second to the constitutional rights of Maryland and protested vigorously against every measure of oppression directed at the State. May was so outspoken that an effort was made to expel him from the House. Which group best represented Maryland public opinion, it is impossible to say, since that opinion was never consistent enough to be gauged accurately. But in the long run, it is believed that Kennedy and Thomas, rather than May and Pearce, more truly represented Maryland.

(To be continued).

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 419.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, Appendix, pp. 4-7.

AN OXFORD CONVICT IN MARYLAND

By PHILIP BABCOCK GOVE

Sometime in the 1760's David Benfield of Oxford, while presumably engaged in the practice of physic and surgery, committed the misdemeanor of stealing some of His Majesty's deer from Wychwood Forest and, being found guilty, was confined in Oxford Castle. Apparently he was spared the possible punishments of being whipped and stood in the pillory.¹ After his release he had the misfortune once again to fall into the hands of the law, this time on a much more serious charge. On June 13, 1770, he was committed to Bocardo, the Oxford city gaol, "charged on Suspicion of stealing forty Pounds in Money and a Silver Tankard" from the Crooked Billet, a house kept in St. Thomas's Parish by Richard Crawford.² In prison he had several months in which to enlarge the circle of his criminal acquaintance—he was not the kind to languish—until his trial came on at the Oxford General Quarter Sessions on October 4. His sentence was transportation for seven years.³

Benfield spent the approaching winter in gaol and in April, 1771, petitioned unsuccessfully to Justice Nares for clemency.⁴ Shortly afterwards he was officially sent upon his travels to Maryland, where, according to a contemporary Marylander, he would be expected either to run away to the north, if he continued wicked, and be accepted as an honest man or to serve his time with good behavior and become a useful Marylander.⁵ Instead of disappearing completely from history, he labored over one semi-literate effusion, compounded of a nostalgic curiosity about his old friends in Oxford and an urge to make them envious of his prowess in surmounting his hardships.

¹ See Patrick Colquhoun, *Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis* (London, 1797), p. 288.

² *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, No. 894, June 16, 1770.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 910, October 6, 1770.

⁴ *Calendar of Home Office Papers 1770-1772*, doc. 991. The contents of Benfield's letter are not given in the abstract, but it is obvious from common practice and from other similar documents preserved in the P. R. O. that his communication, officially recorded, must have been a petition for clemency.

⁵ See the *Maryland Gazette*, July, 1767, as quoted in Matthew P. Andrews, *History of Maryland: Province and State* (N. Y., 1929), p. 216.

On July 20, 1772, after about a year of his new life on My Lady's Manor in Baltimore County, he sat down to write an informative and remarkable letter—perhaps the only one of its kind in American letters—to his former gaoler, David Whitton, keeper of Bocardo. Fortunately this letter was printed *literatim* in *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, No. 1023, for December 5, 1772 (after Whitton's death), from which I reproduce it here, with one important change: Benfield's letter contains no punctuation from beginning to end (except for a dash at the end of the first paragraph); for easier reading I have pointed the letter, with the result that a few passages allow slight but insignificant differences in meaning.

To Mr David Whitton at Bocardo
in the City of Oxford
with Speed England

Boltington County Meleadys Manner, Mereland

MR WHITTON

THIS Coms to a quaint you of my well fare and the good and Bad fortin I have had since I have been in a mericka. I have had very Great Success in My undertakings. I have folloed nothing but physick & Surgorey since I have been heare. I have Don many Good and famus Cures in old wounds: I have Cured a boy that have been Lame for this 10 years and have and Cured many other that have been lame for 2 or 3 years & have ben under all the Surgions in this Cuntrey; I have Cut 3 Cancers out of the face and have cured them all; one was 13 years Standing, a nother of 3, a nother but 2 months; I was but 5 weeks a Curing the worst; I had the boy 6 months Bording with me. I have had verely Bad Lock. I had a fine hors Died that Cost me 20 pounds; he was a fine horse 15 hands and a half high but 7 years old—past [paced] trotted and Galoped as easy as posoble. I had him but 2 months and 3 Days. I bought a nother in 2 Days after that Cost me 12 pound; I Rid him but 15 Miles and he was taken Sick and was Sick 10 Days and hee Died & I fretted my Self almost to Death but thank god I have bot a nother but I have bisness a nuf for 2 which I hope to Get verely Soon. I by Drugs verely Deare; if I had but a frind that old send me a Chest of Drugs I Should be made for ever but I Dont now any frind that old be so Good al tho it is in my power to pay them as Soon as the Ship Returns. all my old a quaintans Livs neare me but are all Sarvants which I Dont Ceep cumpany with, for I Keep the best Cumpany as neare as I Can. this yeare I Shall yarn upwards of a hundred pound. I Gives 20 pounds for my bord & horses hay and Grass; I find him Corn my self—

Let it be fur or neare I allways Charge a Shilling a mile for My Visit; I have Sent for 40 Miles but 20 often. Sir I will Give you a Little

a Count of the Cuntrey: the Cuntrey is fine and pleasant; Cyder verrey plenty; peaches and Chereys as plenty as the haw bushis be in oxfordshire; partreg and fesants as plenty as the Sparrows be in oxfordshire; all sorts of game are verrey plenty; Likewise fish flesh and foul; Chickins you may by for 2d purpees, beef for 3 halfpence & mutton the same. I lives a bout 25 miles from boltimore sound and bout 18 from Susquana where Mr Brickland * Told me his brother philip Lived. I have inquired all as I cold and I heare he went out Captin to the islands to catch negors and had bot Sum and Som they had got without bying & had got a great many Confined in Iorns in the Ship and the negors Roas and got a board and Cruely used all the Ships Cru after whipped them all most to Death then hanged them and burnt the Ship after releasing all the Slaves. these negors will fetch 70 or eighty pounds a pees in this Cuntrey. the Ship belonged to one Iacob Giles, was Cold the Elizabth. pleast to Give My Kind Love to all your brothers and Sisters and My old frind Mr Handrell and Mrs Bew and Mr Wisdoms and Mr Mears and Mr Rollins Mrs Gadney and Mrs huse and thair naibor if you pleas.⁷ that for Sworn Blackgard that Sore [saw] hannah Cripes pillabor which was Marked H C—he Swore the Each was em⁸—hee thoat to punish Me but was mistaken, for I Lives Like a Ientleman and hee Like a blackgard. We have had a fine harvest as fine wheat as Can grow; it is sold for 4s & six pence pur Bushell. I shall be verrey Glad to heare from you to Let me Now how My naibors dos. pleast to Direct for Doctor David Benfield to be Left at Mr Jon Boyds Druggest in Boltimore Mereland.⁹ I Conclude

* Benfield's use of "Mr" points to William Brickland, a schoolmaster on Cat Street, Oxford. There was at the time in Oxford a Thomas Brickland, cook, but he would not have been called "Mr." My identifications in the following notes have been worked out from various maps and materials in the Bodleian, principally with the indispensable aid of H. E. Salter, *Survey of Oxford in 1772* (London, 1912).

⁷ Most of these persons were neighbors, not far from Carfax, in St. Thomas's Parish in the southwest ward. A Mrs. Benfield occupied a house on the south side of Butcher Row (now Queen Street). A dozen houses away lived Mrs. Richard Bew, wife of a mercer; two doors on the other side lived Mrs. Hughes. Mrs. Gadney lived in St. Ebb's Lane, near James Meers, leather dresser (I find no Mears). Probably "Rollins" refers to Richard Rawlins, man-midwife and apothecary, who lived on the opposite side of Butcher Row, not far from Mrs. Benfield. There were in Oxford at the time other families of Meers, Gadney, Hughes, and Rawlins, but the locations and associations point to the persons above. "Wisdoms" may have been either William or Charles Wisdom, both keepers of the Castle gaol.

⁸ The wife of Richard Crawford, against whom Benfield committed the theft, was named Mary; therefore her initials, M. C., would serve to identify part of the loot. Since Benfield admitted possessing a pillow case with the initials of Hannah Cripse, she must have been a friend of his and may have been the Diana Cripps who, for stealing a silver spoon from St. Mary Hall, was sentenced at the Oxford Assizes on July 13, 1774, to transportation for seven years (*Jackson's Oxford Journal*, No. 1107, July 16, 1774).

⁹ Dr. John Boyd had established a drug store in Baltimore in May, 1767, and is recorded as a practising physician there at the time of Benfield's letter. See John R. Quinan, *Medical Annals of Baltimore from 1608-1880* (Baltimore, 1884), p. 13,

with My Kind Love to you and your wife and my Little Bedflows Iane
peggy and nanney and am your Ever wellwisher to Comand
ye 20 Iuly 1772

D Benfield

hare Brown¹⁰ is well & Charls bossom¹¹ have got 2 Children and wife. John brown have been married but his wife is Dead; he was Married to a Dutchwomman ho have Left him a pees of Land. Tobacco sels in this Cuntrey for 15 Shilings pur hundred. if I had a frind I Cold Ship Tobacco home but as I hant I Cant makeany thing of marchandice. I have 3 borders at 25 Shilings pur month all with verely bad wounds. if Lee Elkington had Com a Long with me hee Might a made him Self for Ever, for heare is Rabits as plenty as they bee in a warren and [we] make No youse of the Skins a tall and hats are verely dear.¹² pleast to Give My Love to Molly Carter & Mrs Bent and Carpenter.¹³ I Shall be might

and Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1824), pp. 49, 58, and 59. Contrary to the evidence of the letter, Benfield did not distinguish himself sufficiently to receive mention in either Quinan or Griffith.

¹⁰ At the Oxford General Quarter Sessions on October 5, 1769, one Henry Brown, "indicted for stealing six Fowls . . . was found guilty of stealing one of them, and ordered to be transported for seven Years" (*Jackson's Oxford Journal*, No. 858, October 7, 1769). He remained in the Oxford gaol at least until the following spring, for in March he "found Means of escaping in the Absence of the Gaoler, by forcing the Keys from his Daughter . . . [but] was retaken near Wadham College, and is since heavier laden with Irons (*ibid.*, No. 880, March 10, 1770).

¹¹ A William Bossom, bedmaker's servant, having stolen six silver tablespoons from a gentleman commoner of Queen's College, was ordered to be transported for seven years on July 13, 1768 (*ibid.*, No. 794, July 16, 1768). There were in Oxford two Charles Bossoms, one of whom, a bargeman, lived in St. Thomas's Parish, but I cannot find that he was ever transported. Benfield's reference is more likely to Charles Bossometh, who was sentenced at Oxford on April 18, 1763, to seven years transportation for felony (*Calendar of Home Office Papers 1760-1763*, doc. 1156).

¹² Lee Elkington, an Oxford hatter, was committed to Bocardo on October 29, 1770, "charged with stealing 25 Yards of fine Irish Linnen, out of the Shop of Mr. Joseph Fortnom, of this Place, Mercer and Haberdasher" (*Jackson's Oxford Journal*, No. 914, November 3, 1770) and at the General Quarter Sessions on January 17, 1771, was sentenced to transportation for seven years (*ibid.*, No. 925, January 19, 1771). By Justice Nares he was "recommended to mercy on account of his youth" and pardoned in February to serve on a ship of war (*Calendar of Home Office Papers 1770-1772*, docs. 574 and 993). He enlisted with the East India Company, and orders were given "for his being immediately removed to Portsmouth to be put on board" (*Jackson's Oxford Journal*, No. 935, March 30, 1771).

¹³ Of the several families of Carter possible, two are likely to have included Molly: Henry Carter, joiner, who lived on the south side of Butcher Row, not far from Mrs. Benfield, and William Carter, laboring man of St. Thomas's Parish and father of triplets (who all died); "however the poor Man has still six Children now living" (*Jackson's Oxford Journal*, No. 871, January 6, 1770). A Mrs. Bent lived in Ship Lane, but Benfield more likely refers to the wife of a druggist named Bennet, who lived on the south side of Butcher Row between Carfax and Mrs. Bew's house. There were also several families of Carpenter, one of whom lived on the north side of Butcher Row next to the entrance to the Castle.

Glad to heare what is beCom of Lee. I beg of all Love in the world to Right to me to Let me now how all my old frinds dos

I Clude with My harty prayers for you and am your D Benfield

Rum is 2 shillings pur gallon

pray Dont fail Righting; pray excuse my Scraul, for I am in hast. Luce bennet¹⁴ is a Live and well as I heve heard but I hant seen She. Mike is well; hee is Ceep by the County

How successful David Benfield's practice in physic and surgery grew, how greatly his fortunes prospered, and whether he was converted from an involuntary colonist into a citizen of the Republic I have been unable to discover. Even his status at the time he was giving his Oxford friends a glimpse of life on a pre-Revolutionary Maryland manor is not wholly certain, but it is clear that for his crime he was not suffering any serious penalty besides banishment. If large numbers of transported felons could be sold as schoolmasters,¹⁵ then it is possible that a professing surgeon would be no less desirable and could work out his terms in the service of a manor. The landlord might well have been ready to pay £15 or £20—the value of a skilled male—for a resident surgeon and then have allowed him to exercise his skill at large.¹⁶ But this does not seem a wholly satisfactory supposition, for the letter, in so far as it can be believed, purports clearly that Benfield was completely on his own.

A simpler solution is more tenable. William Eddis stated that Persons convicted of felony, and in consequence transported to this continent, if they are able to pay the expense of passage, are free to pursue their fortune agreeably to their inclinations or abilities. Few, however, have means to avail themselves of this advantage.¹⁷

C. M. Andrews cites the example of a barrister, transported for stealing, who had money to pay for his passage, was treated with respect aboard, and undoubtedly was set at liberty upon landing.¹⁸

¹⁴ At the Oxford Assizes on March 7, 1769, Lucy Bennett, daughter of the butler of Worcester College, was "ordered to be transported for Seven Years, for stealing a Silver Spoon, Part of a large Quantity of Plate lately stolen from that College" (*ibid.*, No. 828, March 11, 1769).

¹⁵ See Jonathan Boucher, *A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution* (London, 1797), Discourse IV (1773), pp. 183-84.

¹⁶ See "Transportation of Felons to the Colonies," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVII (1932), 263-74, and Charles M. Andrews, *Colonial Folkways: a Chronicle of American Life in the Reign of the Georges* (New Haven [etc.], 1921), pp. 186 and 190.

¹⁷ *Letters from America, Historical and Descriptive* (London, 1792), p. 66.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 193.

The captain of a ship transporting felons expected in 1771 to receive from the British government about £5 and a property right in the felon and estimated the expense of passage to average about £9; he would then expect to sell his property right for somewhere between £10 and £20.¹⁹ From a felon who wished to settle all his obligations to the law by paying the captain, the latter would expect something more than he could legitimately earn because of the secrecy and risk involved—he was sometimes required under penalty to declare all felons at the port of landing. In any event Benfield would not have needed more than £25 with which to buy his complete freedom in the colonies. Although this would have been a considerable sum for most felons convicted of grand larceny, it was not exorbitant, and Benfield was apparently able to raise it.

Even if this interpretation of the freedom implicit in the letter be not tenable, it is evident that Benfield had experienced a reformation that would have made him in some degree a living example of Sir John Fielding's justification of the transportation system. Within a few months of the time that Benfield dispatched his letter from Maryland to Oxford, Sir John reported to the Earl of Suffolk on "the wisest, because most humane and effectual, punishment we have, viz., transportation,—which immediately removes the evil, separates the individual from his abandoned connexions, and gives him a fresh opportunity of being a useful member of society, thereby answering the great ends of punishment, viz., example, humanity, and reformation."²⁰ Had David Benfield seen this statement—and understood it, he would not have realized any irony in applying it to himself.

New York University.

¹⁹ See *Maryland Historical Magazine*, *loc. cit.*; Eddis, *op. cit.*, p. 72; and Eugene I. McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland, 1634-1820* (Baltimore, 1904), p. 99.

²⁰ *Calendar of Home Office Papers 1773-1775*, p. 11, dated February 1, 1773.

THE LEES OF BLENHEIM

By ETHEL ROBY HAYDEN

"Richard Lee of Blenheim . . . the last President of Maryland" reads the legend on a flat gravestone in Charles County, some few hundred yards from where the new Potomac bridge takes off from the Maryland shore. The place is known now as Laidler's Ferry Farm and a marker, put up in 1934, commemorates the Civil War history of the Ferry rather than the Blenheim of an earlier day; but the plantation's heyday was in the lifetime of the family of the Hon. Richard Lee, years which spanned the eighteenth century and ended about 1806.

Richard Lee of Blenheim of the fourth generation in America of the Stratford Lees, descended from the first Col. Richard Lee of Virginia through his son Richard, and Philip, third son of the second Richard, who moved to Maryland about 1700 and was the first of this line of the Maryland Lees. Philip married Sarah Brooke, daughter of the Hon. Thomas Brooke of "Brookfield," Prince George's County, Maryland, and his wife Barbara Addison. Richard was the first son of this marriage. Sarah Brooke Lee died in 1724 and Philip then married Elizabeth, widow of Henry Sewell. Richard of Blenheim married Grace Ashton, youngest daughter of Col. Henry Ashton and his wife, Elizabeth Hardridge of Westmoreland County, Virginia. The six children born to them were Richard, junior, Philip Thomas, Sarah Lettice, Hannah, Alice and Eleanor Ann.

Philip Lee's will recorded in Charles County in 1734, gives to his son Richard several tracts of land in Cedar Point, Maryland, two of which, Lee's Purchase and Stump Dale, had been previously described in the will of Philip's father, Richard of Virginia. These with several other tracts were assembled by Philip and named Blenheim for the little Dutch town so popular with the English after 1705. Philip says in his will that he had built there a fine bake house and mill "in order to carry on the Baking and Grist trade for the support of my children," trades which must have languished after his death for there is no further record of them and Richard's days were busy in other ways than grinding and baking.

The plantation landing was a port of entry for the north Potomac. All shipping from that section of the county was graded, weighed and registered there and Squire Lee was a duly commissioned naval officer. There also was the wharf of the ferry which operated between the Lee farm in Maryland and Col. Rice Hooe's place in Westmoreland County, Virginia. As early as 1725 this Ferry was the main link of travel between lower tidewater and the north. At the Ferry landing Mrs. Laidler kept a tavern where, writes the diarist Philip Vickers Fithian, "the food was good and the guests were waited on by a smart looking girl just from London"; but it was Squire Lee's house that was the scene of continuous entertainment of the travelers between Virginia and the northern colonies. Many letters and diaries mention the Lee hospitality. Richard Henry Lee, cousin of Richard of Blenheim wrote Henry Laurens, starting home from Philadelphia, that he would be hospitably received at Squire Lee's; and Fithian, riding horseback home to New Jersey from Nomini Hall, Virginia, records his landing at the Ferry and a gay evening at Squire Lee's house with young Mr. Lee, Miss Lee, Miss Booth and Miss Washington. "Toasts were given" he writes, "and I gave Miss Nancy Galoway."

Two fine houses were built by the Lees on the Blenheim plantation. The brick house on the hill near the present post office of Newberg, has been gone almost half a century, and the brick end walls of the hipped roof house by the river are the last visible remnants of the dignity that was Blenheim. Philip, Sr. may have built both houses; the river house was probably the earlier of the two. This was the house in which Richard and his family lived and died. John Rowzée Peyton, writing of the homes along the Potomac, in December, 1774, mentions Mr. Lee's house on the river, and as Richard was married then and Philip, Sr. had been dead two years the river house must have been Richard's home from the first years of his marriage. Old residents speak of the hill house as the old Blenheim house and the river house as Laidler's, but this is because the hill part of the plantation remained in possession of the Lee family long after the Laidlers had bought that on the river and given their name to the ferry. The hill house and the land around it belonged to Lee heirs late into the nineteenth century. About seventy years ago a great granddaughter of Philip Thomas (living in England) signed the

deed for that tract which ended the Lee tenure of Blenheim. The house on the hill contained great quantities of fine brick, and much of it is said to be still doing service in neighboring chimneys. The style and greater pretensions of this house help to set the date later in the eighteenth century when money and materials were easier to come by than they were in the days of the Dutch house on the Potomac.



THE LEE HOUSE, LATER LAIDLER'S FERRY HOUSE. NOW A RUIN.

From an old photograph in collection of Mr. J. Alexis Shriver.

But under the hipped roof by the river life flowed gracious and gay. Much visiting went on among the plantations. The great coach was often seen between the Potomac and the Wicomoco, rolling merrily along the Three Notch road with its thirteen gates, to Port Tobacco, or taking the family down to Society Hill to see the Thorntons or farther down the river to the Lewis's. Small boats brought the Lee cousins across the river: the Carters, the Washingtons, the Turbervilles from Pecatone, to mingle with frequent guests from among the Ferry travelers. In 1745 Squire Lee became a member of the Provincial Council and from that time until the last days of the colony his name interlaces the public documents of Maryland. For the young Lees the social horizon was then broadened to include the more sophisticated life of Annapolis, with its theatre, its races and its smart clubs. About 1753 Philip Thomas was sent to England where he entered Eaton.

He was there under the celebrated Dr. Barnard and in due time he entered Christ's College, Cambridge. He was admitted at Middle Temple Bar February 24, 1756. In England he married his distant cousin, Sarah Russel, and when he brought her home to America they established themselves with the family at Blenheim where their five children were born and grew up.

On September 30, 1759, Sarah Lettice, the eldest daughter, married Philip Richard Fendall of Charles County. She died within a year after her marriage but Philip Fendall remained always the "trusty friend" and "esteemed son-in-law," as later documents show. On Sunday afternoon December 5, 1762, Hannah Lee, the second daughter, was married at Blenheim to George Plater of St. Mary's County. Ten months later the *Maryland Gazette* announced her death. George Plater later married Elizabeth Rousby of Calvert County and was governor of Maryland when he died in 1792. Alice, the third daughter, like her two older sisters had but one year of marriage. She married John Weems, "late of Delaware," in April, 1788, and died July 15, 1789, at "Weems Forest" in Calvert County. Alice was forty years old when she married John Weems so she and Eleanor Ann spent many years together at Blenheim after the two older girls were dead. In his *Lee of Virginia*, Edmund Jennings Lee throws some light on Alice's sprightly personality by quoting from her letter written to William Lee of London, dated March 27, 1772:

So you threaten me if I prove deficient in the deference I owe you as a married man, with the power you have of forwarding or retarding my success in the Matrimonial Way. This would be a tremendous threat were I as fond of matrimony as my young Mistress, as you call her, but happily I am a little more than twelve years old and not so eager to tie a knot which Death alone can Dissolve. And yet I pretend not to ridicule the holy sacred institution, but have all due reverence for that and the worthy people who have entered into the Society from good and generous motives. It is only for them who choose to be married at all events that I think deserve raillery. I was in Virginia when your letter came. Your friends there are well but I never saw Westmoreland so dull. I was at Squire Lee's. He is the veriest Tramontane in nature. If he ever gets married and his wife civilizes him, she deserves to be canonized. The Annapolis races commence the sixth of October, and the company is expected to be numerous and splendid. The American Company of Players are there and said to be amazingly improved. I should like to see them as I think Theatrical Entertainments a rational amusement; But I shall not be there. Indeed I lead rather a recluse life, my greatest pleasure results from

my correspondents of my friends in different parts of the world and I am very assiduous to cultivate this kind of amusement. I know your ability will always provide you with materials to give me that pleasure and I hope your inclinations will coincide to. Mrs. Anna Lee has not yet exhibited any railing accusations against you. I thank your Mrs. Lee for her amicable wishes and desire you to greet her and Dr. Lee with my friendly salutations.

The Squire Lee mentioned was her father's cousin, Richard, second son of Henry Lee and Mary Bland Lee, born at Lee Hall in Westmoreland County, Virginia, 1726. He was known among his contemporaries as the "Squire" and was always so named in their letters. When he was sixty years old he married his first cousin, Sally Poythress.

While Alice was writing her letters the younger sister was also busy with the pen, for Eleanor Ann was a poet and her verse makes a slight but interesting record of her life and time. Sonnets to the memory of Sarah Lettice and Hannah, some mournful lines to a former suitor in India, verses to John Thomas, Esq., of West River, on presenting him with a watch ribbon on which she had worked the motto *Paix et L'Amour*, and other rhymed comments on people and places, with verses to herself by John Thomas and others, round out a demure little story caught in the pages of a book published by Frederick Green of Annapolis in 1808, two years after Eleanor Ann was dead.

The book in two volumes is entitled *EXTRACTS In Prose And Verse, Together with a collection of ORIGINAL POETRY, Never Before Published, By Citizens of Maryland*. Some collectors attribute it to Elizabeth Chase of Annapolis, but there is evidence that Eleanor Ann compiled the collection of poetry and that Benjamin Contee, who married her niece, Sarah Russell Lee, added the prose extracts and had it printed after she died. Elizabeth Chase died as late as 1840 and while the years do not preclude a friendship between the two ladies, it is unlikely that they would have been intimates, and a careful reading of both volumes makes certain that the compiler was very close to the Lee family. The case for Benjamin Contee is strengthened by the fact that he was entrusted with Miss Lee's personal affairs and that his qualifications would indicate him as co-author of the book. Mr. Contee had traveled much in England and would have been familiar with the various obscure English writers, mostly clergymen, who are included. Mr.

Contee was a clergyman himself. Having been a member of Congress for four years, he was ordained to the priesthood of the Episcopal church in 1803 and was within a few votes of election as bishop of the diocese in 1816. He was Chief Judge of the Orphans Court of Charles County when he died. In any case Eleanor Ann's prim little verses are still alive to give us a picture that would otherwise have vanished.

As the century moved on to its last quarter, Squire Lee's presence was more demanded at Annapolis while at home Philip held the commission of the port and conducted its business. When Frederick Calvert sent to Maryland his brother-in-law, Sir Robert Eden, to be Governor of the colony, it was Richard Lee who became one of his chief advisers. Eden was only twenty-eight years old, he had to contend with a set of inflammable conditions and he lacked experience. It was Lee's seasoned sagacity that helped him to carry on as well as he did. As president of the Council Squire Lee became deputy governor while Eden was in England from May to November in 1774, and again two years later when the power of England in Maryland passed with the sailing of Sir Robert on the warship *Fowey*.

In 1767 Richard Jr., Squire Lee's eldest son, was sheriff of Charles County. He had built a private jail 24 feet long by 16 feet wide near his father's house where he kept the prisoners from the Nanjemoy district, instead of in the public jail at Port Tobacco. In 1769 Sheriff Lee was charged with abusing a prisoner and was fined forty pounds current money in the Charles County court. Philip Richard Fendall, his brother-in-law, "becomes pledge and security to pay the fine and the several fees due the officers and ministers of the court." But this did not satisfy the accusers and the charges were further stated at Annapolis before Governor Eden through an address of the House of Delegates:

. . . we hope your Excellency will think us excusable if we feel and express some warmth of Resentment towards Mr. Lee, and under these Circumstances we cannot but think it a Justice due to the Public that the said Richard Lee junior should be removed from his Office of Sheriff of Charles County as being unworthy of and unfit for so important a Trust, and we do earnestly request that your Excellency will be pleased to remove him.

ROBERT LLOYD, *Speaker*

Following this, reams of sordid evidence packed the records of

the Council proceedings. However, on May 9, 1770, the Council declared:

On the subject of the complaint against the Sheriff of Charles County it is the unanimous opinion of this Board that there are not sufficient Grounds arising from the Behavior of the said Sheriff to inflict further punishment on him by removing him from his office.

Soon after his retirement from the office of sheriff, Richard must have suffered a collapse, possibly of a mental character, for he is thereafter spoken of in family letters and documents as an invalid.

Philip died in November, 1778, and Squire Lee retiring from public life, settled down on the plantation. The household was still a large one. Philip's five children were growing up, and besides the elder Lees there were Alice, Eleanor Ann and probably Richard, Jr. In the decade that followed Alice married and died, at least two of Philip's daughters married, and Squire Lee and his wife both died. From notices in newspapers of the day we know that Squire Lee died on January 26, 1787, but the date is given on his tombstone as 1789. This must have been a mistake of the stone engraver, but the wonder is that the watchful eye of Eleanor Ann would let it pass. The inscription is:

RICHARD LEE of Blenheim

Died on the 26th of January, 1789, in the 81st Year of his Age. In the course of his life he filled with credit various civil Offices of high trust and was the last President of MARYLAND. But he possessed a [native?] merit and dignity superior to all his advantages and Honors: the scene of these is now closed and his remains lie here.

All, all on earth is shadow,

All beyond is substance,

How solid all where change shall be no more.

This stone is inscribed to his Memory by his ever Affectionate Daughter.

E. A. LEE

Alice Lee Weems' grave is there, the stone inscribed with a long eulogy "by her truly affectionate sister E. A. Lee." And Philip's only son:

Here lies entombed the last fond Hope of a Respectable and a Numerous and Once Extensive Family RUSSELL LEE, who after a short illness in Consequence of a kick from a horse Departed this Life on the 4th September, 1793. Aged 17 years and 27 Days. He was the only

surviving son of P. T. Lee, chief son of Richard Lee of Blenheim, deceased.

By E. A. Lee

Mrs. Lee's epitaph also is signed by Eleanor Ann—"her dutiful daughter E. A. Lee." Mrs. Lee died October 16, 1789, in her seventy-seventh year. Her personal inventory filed in the February, 1790, term of the Charles County Court lists 66 slaves by name and includes such interesting items as

1 old chariot, new lined and painted with harness for 4 horses, £50

A parcel of medicine £1

3 yards of white cotton wadding and 5¼ yards of coarse white calico £1-11-6

The list is a long one, covering seven pages and amounting to a total of 2,546 pounds, 19 shillings.

Still more eloquent is Eleanor Ann's will fifteen years later, dated October 19, 1805. Eleanor Ann died May 17, 1806. The will is a long intricate document covering nine pages in the will books of Charles County. In it she once more becomes the family historian with her pointed mention of individuals and the long list of bequests: Being of sound and "disposing mind" she first wants her flock of sheep and her black cattle sold to pay debts and, after disposing of her lands etc., she leaves to Sarah Russell Contee (Philip's daughter) "All my horses, oxen and hogs with six cows and six calves"; to great nephew, Philip Ashton, "my silver handle knives and forks, silver marrow spoons, silver cans and dessert spoons"; to other nieces, "my china ware, also my silver salts and shovels, silver spoons and soup spoons and mahogany poster bed which I bought of my honored father's estate; my carved black walnut bedstead, my toilet table and toilet cloth"—making up the equipage of country life. Sarah Russell Contee and her husband were requested to "extend their attention towards their afflicted uncle, my said brother [Richard] as far as his remote situation may admit." Richard lived to be a very old man, dying about 1834.

There was a Philip Richard Francis Lee who served as a captain in the Continental Army and was wounded at the Battle of Brandywine. In establishing a claim for bounties as late as 1845, it was proven that the heirs of this man were the grandchildren of Philip Thomas Lee. Because of this Edmund Jennings Lee thinks that Philip Richard Francis and Richard, eldest son of Richard of Blenheim, may have been the same man, but it is now

evident that they were not. Philip Richard Francis was from Virginia and living in Prince William County in 1774. It was from Virginia that the bounties were granted. These bounties were land warrants for 4000 acres issued on July 21, 1784, due for three years' service as a captain; again on October 1, 1798, 4000 acres "for services of the war," and November, 1845, other lands to Alice and Benjamin Contee, Eliza Lyson and Sarah E. Fendall as heirs of Captain P. R. F. Lee, for seven years' and eight months' service. That these men and women were also heirs of Squire Richard does not establish Captain Lee as his son, for Eleanor Ann was writing of her "poor afflicted brother" in the years when he would have been fighting, had he been the Virginia soldier. Even more proof is found in a letter published in the *Virginia Magazine of History*, from Josiah Hawkins of Port Tobacco, Charles County, Maryland, to Robert E. Lee, dated "Fair Fountain," August 1, 1866. It reads in part:

I am descended from the branch of the family which settled in Maryland. My mother was a Miss Clerklee, her father was named James Clerk and married Margaret Russell Lee, they for some reason or other combined their names and made it Clerklee. Richard Lee of Blenheim, my ancestor, who acted for a short time as Proprietary Governor of Maryland in 1772, Vice Robert Eden, had two sons Richard and Philip Thomas. Of what became of Richard I have no account, but Philip Thomas was the Father of Margaret Russell Lee, the mother of Caroline Ashton Clerklee, my mother.

Thus the recipients of the bounties would have been Mr. Hawkins' cousins and contemporaries, and it is unlikely that he would have had no knowledge of the man from whom they came.

Deep in a tangle of weeds and briars in a field nearer the old hill house is another graveyard. The lettering on some of the stones is quite erased by time but still decipherable are the graves of Ann AE Russell, A. C. Contee, Edmund H. Contee, Margaret Russell Clerklee, all with Latin inscriptions including *Jacobus Clerklee, Londini Natibus, ÆTATIS SUÆ LXI*. Could Eleanor Ann or Richard lie beneath one of these worn stones?

After Eleanor Ann died the house and land on the river were bought by the Laidlers and under their regime the ferry traffic flourished and the place became known by their name. So much history was made there during the Civil War that the earlier years were overshadowed and now, only a few decaying grave stones and the crumbling brick ends of the river house recall the days of the Lees of Blenheim.

BOOK REVIEWS

Edgar Allan Poe: A Critical Biography. By ARTHUR HOBSON QUINN.
New York: Appleton-Century, 1941. 804 pp. \$5.00.

For almost a century biographies of Poe have been coming from the presses of the world. He seems to be a fascinating subject for romantic speculation and psychological analysis. Few biographers, however, have been as meticulous in investigating and presenting the facts of Poe's life and writings as Professor Quinn. Already his biography has become the indispensable volume for the careful student of American literary history.

Poe's life was comparatively uneventful. Born in Boston of actor parents and left an orphan when still a child, he was adopted by a Richmond merchant. He attended school both in Richmond and in England, spent one year at the University of Virginia, then enlisted as a private in the army. He entered West Point, but, because of poverty, proceeded to have himself expelled. Outside of these simple adventures he was a writer, a "magazinish," and an editor. He married his Baltimore cousin, who was both too young and too frail, and he indulged in a number of flirtations. It would seem that such a life should be easy to write, yet biographers have found the task far from easy. The "facts" have been difficult to ascertain and still more difficult to disengage from the body of legend which has grown up around the very name of Poe.

Professor Quinn proves conclusively that the Reverend Mr. Griswold, Poe's literary executor and first biographer, was largely responsible for the distortion of many "facts" connected with Poe's life and character. Griswold hated Poe, who had severely criticized the gentleman's literary undertakings, and he did not scruple to alter letters and otherwise to falsify documents in order to present Poe in an unattractive light. But other writers whom Poe had, for one reason or another, offended contributed not a little to the "stories" about the poet's misbehaviors. Moreover, after Poe became famous, anyone who had ever known him or casually met him felt free to "reminisce" and thus further confuse the actual record. Mr. Quinn, armed with patience and scholarly acumen, has endeavored to separate fact from myth, the genuine from the spurious, the real from the fancied. On the whole, he has succeeded admirably.

And yet, the world's interest in Poe is due to his writings. The man was a poet, a story teller, and a critic. While it is true that knowing the facts of a writer's life may help us to understand his writings a little better, scholarly biographies are generally limited in their ability to make us appreciate the phenomenon of artistic genius. There are too many objective facts and there is too little critical insight. It is probably good for us to know all the rôles Poe's mother and father portrayed on the stage, and when and where, but just how much that will help us to either understand or appreciate the magic of "Ulalume" or the almost uncanny per-

fection of mood in such a story as "The Fall of the House of Usher" is problematical. In this respect Mr. Quinn's biography is no exception.

Nor is Mr. Quinn's style felicitous enough to give us any feeling that we are dealing with the actual and imaginative life of a poet. That he has tried to lighten his record of documents and dates is quite obvious; here and there he indulges in a personal pronoun; and here and there he flashes a bit of epigrammatic comment, such as "there is a difference between the expression of obscurity and the obscurity of expression." If he is rarely successful it is because his personal pronoun is lost in the multiplicity of objective facts, and appears to be an intrusion, and because his comment is neither subtle nor fresh. We do not need to be told—apropos of Poe's statement that "Man is now only more active—not more happy—nor more wise, than he was 6000 years ago"—that "Perhaps it is as true today as it was in 1844."

Professor Quinn's biography has long been needed by scholars and students. By it our knowledge of Poe, his background, his material struggles, his relations with other people, has been greatly enlarged. But there still remains the need for a biography of Poe the imaginative artist, the man who, like John Donne, was evidently born "things invisible to see," the man who was an unhappy wanderer in the misty mid-region of Weir, a poetic genius with heart volcanic, who once walked the prosaic streets of Richmond, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York, but whose mind dwelt where Israfel dwells.

N. BRYLLION FAGIN.

Time and the Physician: The Autobiography of LEWELLYS F. BARKER.

New York: Putnam, 1942. 350 pp. \$3.50.

Lewellys F. Barker was born at Milldale, Ontario, on September 16, 1867. His parents, James Frederick Barker and Sarah Jane Barker, were Quakers. Barker's grandfather, on his mother's side was the father of 23 children.

The author gives a most interesting account of the Quakers and of his boyhood. His father became a Quaker minister and in 1881 was selected as Superintendent of a Quaker seminary, Pickering College. Later he entered the Baptist ministry.

Young Barker, after passing the college entrance examinations, secured employment with an up-to-date druggist. Here, in addition to learning how to put up prescriptions, he obtained a preliminary knowledge of chemistry. Barker entered the Toronto School of Medicine in the fall of 1886. I can see him now, a tall, thin, sharp-featured lad with long arms, exceedingly long fingers and with a quiet, charming personality. It was not long before he was recognized as the outstanding man in his class. Later he taught members of his own class organic chemistry.

Dr. Barker refers to Dr. John Caven, the new Professor of Pathology in the Toronto school. He was one of the best teachers I have ever known and created a love for pathology in nearly all the class. He left an indelible impress on all of us.

Little wonder that Barker received the University Gold Medal, as well as the Starr Gold Medal for proficiency in scholarship when he graduated. He was head and shoulders in advance of any other member of his class. Even when Barker and I had charge of the Lying-In Hospital, he could wash and dress a baby more quickly than I could. My best record was 11 minutes; he did better than that.

To do justice to Barker's biography in a short space is impossible. I shall mention some of the high lights.

After reaching Baltimore in 1891, Barker accepted a position at the Garrett Hospital at Mount Airy, and in the fall followed Dr. Osler's work at the Johns Hopkins Hospital. In a short time his sterling qualities were recognized by Dr. Osler and he became a member of the medical staff. Early in 1892 Dr. Simon Flexner and he were delegated by the Maryland State Board of Health to study an epidemic of cerebrospinal meningitis in Lonaconing. In 1895 Barker and John Hewetson spent some time in post graduate work in Europe.

One of Dr. Barker's most important publications was *The Nervous System and its Constituent Neurones*, a book of 1122 pages, published by D. Appleton and Co. in 1899. It was "a systematic account of the histology of the cerebrospinal and sympathetic nervous systems and of their motor, sensory and association paths." This book made a profound impression both here and abroad.

In March 1899 Simon Flexner and Barker were commissioned to go to Manila to study the diseases which prevailed in the Philippine Islands. The party traveled to Manila by way of Vancouver, Japan and Hong Kong. In Japan they saw much of interest. In Hong Kong, through the courtesy of Dr. J. A. Lawson, they saw many cases of plague and attended many autopsies on these cases. In the Philippines the commission saw many febrile diseases, typhoid fever, malaria, tuberculosis, dengue, dysentery and some smallpox. In speaking of beri-beri in the Philippines, Barker says: "Ten thousand deaths due to beri-beri have occurred there in a single year among a population of about 12,000,000."

Barker and Joseph Marshall Flint inspected the plague districts of India. Barker went to Neemuch in central India to visit Dr. Margaret MacKellar who had worked in Dr. Mackay's office in Ingersoll, Ontario, ten years before when Barker was in the same office. He speaks in the most glowing terms of this Christian missionary and doctor. He says: "Dr. MacKellar had found that the combination, like a skeleton key, opened all doors." Dr. Barker left Baltimore in 1900 to accept the Professorship of Anatomy in the University of Chicago.

Early in 1901, Simon Flexner, F. G. Novy and Barker were appointed by the United States Government to study the plague situation in San Francisco. Their findings were most interesting and important.

On October 29, 1903, Dr. Barker married Miss Lilian Halsey of Baltimore and shortly thereafter they sailed for Europe. In the *Journal of the American Medical Association* for 1905, under the title, "An Inter-semester Excursion," Dr. Barker gave a full account of the hospitals and of the greater medical personalities he had visited on the trip.

Early in 1905, Dr. Frank Billings was instrumental in having Barker appointed Professor of Medicine in his department in the University of Chicago, because he knew that Barker desired ultimately to become an internist. At the end of the school term, in the spring of 1905, Dr. Osler resigned the Professorship of Medicine in the Johns Hopkins University. Barker had been an assistant of Dr. Osler, had been Resident Pathologist to the Johns Hopkins Hospital under William H. Welch, had played a prominent part in the teaching of anatomy with Franklin P. Mall, had been Professor of Anatomy at the University of Chicago and also Professor of Medicine in that institution. He was an ideal man to succeed William Osler.

In 1905 Barker became Professor of Medicine in the Johns Hopkins University and Physician in Chief to the Johns Hopkins Hospital. Dr. Osler bequeathed his secretary, Miss Blanche O. Humpton, to Barker. She has been a tower of strength to him ever since and is still his right bower.

Barker has always had the happy faculty of selecting outstanding associates. This faculty has enabled him to accomplish the maximum amount of work with the minimum amount of wear and tear. From 1906 on Barker wrote many papers in which he urged the profession to apply psychotherapy to patients whose maladies gave the indication for it.

Barker's career as Professor of Medicine is too well known to need comment here. When Dr. Barker became Dr. Osler's successor he asked whether it would be possible for the University to give him a salary large enough to permit him to devote his full time to his professional duties in the university and in the hospital. The University did not have the necessary funds.

In 1914 funds became available and Dr. Barker was asked if he would become a full time man. During the nine years he had occupied the Chair of Medicine, his fixed medical expenses had increased to such an extent that he could not accept the full-time professorship. He accordingly resigned the Chair of Medicine in order that the university might carry out its contemplated plans. Barker then became Clinical Professor of Medicine and retained this office until 1921 when he became Professor Emeritus. Dr. Barker throughout his entire medical career has been an indefatigable worker and has published numerous books and monographs. He has been on many committees and boards and has received many academic honors.

Barker's handwriting is made up of small, individual letters that remind one of script. He writes rapidly; otherwise he could never have penned 52 pages in his fourth year medical examination in two hours!

The late Thomas B. Futcher's writing closely resembled Barker's and now and then I had to look at the signature to see which one had written the letter. I have never known any one else whose writing resembled theirs. Barker refers to Palmer Futcher who stood very high in his class in the medical school and who was later Resident in Medicine at Hopkins. Dr. Barker's own son, Halsey also stood extremely well in his class and

was likewise later Resident Physician. He is now Associate in Medicine and Assistant Dean in the Johns Hopkins Medical School.

Mrs. Osler was a delightful hostess and the Chief's home was a Mecca for medical students and medical men. Dr. Barker in his autobiography has paid a delightful tribute to Mrs. Barker who has so ably kept up the traditions started by Mrs. Osler.

When Dr. Barker became Clinical Professor of Medicine and was relieved of the routine duties, he had more time for writing and for years his office has been crowded with private patients. He has also been called to all parts of the country in consultation.

Barker's former students, his many friends in the medical profession and his patients, will greatly enjoy this book which so clearly depicts a brilliant scholar, a leader in medicine and a true friend, and also gives a graphic glimpse of the early days in the Johns Hopkins Hospital.

The class of 1890, of the Toronto University Medical School, has always been proud of Lew Barker.

It hardly seems possible that the young intern who turned to me in the Burnside Lying-In Hospital in Toronto in the spring of 1891 and said, "Tommy, I am going to Hopkins," should in 14 years succeed one of the most prominent and beloved physicians in the United States as the Professor of Medicine in the Johns Hopkins University.

The book is beautifully written. The Toronto *Saturday Night* of May 9, 1942, in a review of Dr. Barker's book says, "One of the most fascinating books of the year."

It is.

THOMAS S. CULLEN.

Maryland Main and the Eastern Shore. By HULBERT FOOTNER. Illustrated by Louis Ruyl. New York: Appleton-Century, 1942. \$5.00.

When I was invited to review my own book for the *Maryland Historical Magazine* the reviews were out and my first thought was: What a chance to get back at my critics! But when I came to consider what they had written I found that I had very little to get back at them for. In the case of this book they erred on the side of kindness. This affects me with a certain disquiet for one feels instinctively that there must be something lacking in a book (as in a man) whom everybody praises.

They have their amusing foibles though, my reviewers. For one thing it is almost impossible to convince them that a bay which has an Eastern Shore, always so distinguished, would naturally have a Western Shore too. In this book I have devoted five chapters to the counties on the Western Shore, nevertheless many of the reviewers insisted on placing everything that happened around Chesapeake Bay on the Eastern Shore. Once I wrote a whole book about Charles' Gift and Calvert County, but even now when I meet people for the first time they are apt to say: "Oh yes, you're from the Eastern Shore. I have read your book!" Perhaps after I have written

two or three more books about the Western Shore a suspicion will dawn in the minds of my readers that there is such a place.

One distinguished reviewer, a citizen but not a native of Maryland, accuses me of having viewed my state through rose-colored glasses. There is truth in this criticism. He says I take "Tobacco and Tolerance" for my text without examining the quality of either. It is quite true that Maryland tobacco is pretty rank when smoked by itself; he overlooks the fact that it has a free-burning quality which makes it invaluable in a blend with other tobaccos. As to intolerance as exemplified by certain hideous lynching parties, I can only plead that it has been confined to one not very large portion of our state. It gives me pleasure to tell the story of one lynching that was happily averted through the courage and wit of a Maryland citizen.

The same reviewer thinks I ought to have called attention to the appalling conditions existing among the crab-pickers (I didn't see any appalling conditions) and the "stoop-crop" gatherers of the Eastern Shore; the ex-miners of the Western counties, the inhabitants of the infamous lung-blocks of Baltimore city. This is proper criticism, but I think the reviewer has a little misapprehended my purpose in writing this book. If it had been a sociological work all right, but it is a character study of a state and a people where during more than thirty years I have never received anything but hospitality and kindness—well hardly anything!—consequently it is bound to be rose-colored. I could not write about Maryland in any other way. I depend upon intelligent readers to discount my obvious partiality. I am aware of the defects in the character of the beloved and I point out a good many, too, as I go along, but always I suppose, with affection.

Another friendly reviewer, in this case a distinguished son of Maryland after calling attention to one of my howlers (I erred a mere half century in the date of the incorporation of Baltimore City) goes on to say: "Mr. Footner's debonair and nonchalant way of using real names in the spicy anecdotes he tells, fairly makes my hair stand up. If some of his tetchy Southern Maryland friends don't get down the ancestral shot gun and go hunting for him the old spirit has departed." Ah! but I have fooled my reviewer here! Except in the case of those who have departed, I have invented names, names which sound so like old Maryland names that he was taken in!

An intimate book of this sort brings the author many letters from readers. Nearly all of them are kind and generous letters, even when their purpose is to point out my errors. An author often makes delightful new friends in this manner. There are about six major errors of fact in my book, besides minor slips, and each has been pointed out to me about six times. This is perfectly proper of course. Each letter has caused me to blush afresh. One of my worst errors was due to a lapse of memory in the old-timer who told me the story, but that doesn't let me out; I ought to have checked his story with the records.

HULBERT FOOTNER.

Chesapeake Bay Bugeyes. By M. V. BREWINGTON. (Museum Publication No. 8.) Newport News, Virginia: Mariners' Museum, 1941. 116 pp. \$3.00.

To the eyes of anyone who has sailed on the Chesapeake Bay, the bug-eye is so characteristic that a book on the subject arouses his interest immediately. All Bay sailors know that the buy-eye has two raking masts carrying triangular sails, and that she has a clipper bow; they love to see the bug-eyes carrying lumber, watermelons, grain or oysters, running free or beating slowly against a head wind. Many have thought of converting bug-eyes into yachts, but few have done so. Few have actually sailed on them. And so, the bug-eye remains to amateur sailors as familiar as the trees on James' Point or the Calvert Cliffs—and as unknown.

It is therefore a pleasure to welcome Mr. M. V. Brewington's book *Chesapeake Bay Bugeyes*, published by The Mariners' Museum of Newport News. The book is not large, but it is complete, for it records the history, growth and decline of the bug-eye during a period that is well defined, but surprisingly short. The prospect for the future of the bug-eye is dark, but she will not depart without mourners. And those who desire to have an accurate record of her form and structure now have one in Mr. Brewington's book, which is filled with photographs of bug-eyes, their rigging and gear, tackle, sail plans, hull plans and sections, and tables showing the name, dimensions, and builder of every bug-eye of which there is a record.

What is a bug-eye, and how did she come into being? A bug-eye, says Mr. Brewington, is the "ultimate development of the American aboriginal dugout canoe." She came into being as a result of the peculiar needs of the oyster fishing of the Chesapeake Bay. Originally, oysters were taken with tongs from small canoes, but after a controversy lasting for several decades before the Civil War, and ending in the legalizing of the oyster dredge, a device imported from New England, the bug-eye was developed as the most suitable vessel to use it. Existing types of vessel did not suit; the bulwarks of schooners were too high; the draft of pungys was too deep; both required too many men to handle their gear. The hull of neither was sufficiently strong to withstand the wear and tear of handling the sharp-shelled oysters.

There thus developed from the log canoes small vessels known as "brogans," and from the brogans, the log-hulled bug-eyes, the first of which made their appearance in the Bay between 1865 and 1870; their hulls, about 50 to 60 feet long on deck, being built of five or more logs. The bug-eye is essentially a hybrid.

From the canoe came the principal elements: the basic design, the dugout log hull, and the sail plan: all admirably developed for economy, durability, and ease of handling with a minimum of trained hands. From the pungy came the combination knightheads and hawsepieces, the sweeping sheer, the low freeboard, and the log rail

which allowed the oyster dredge to be easily and quickly hoisted on deck. From the Bay schooner came the shoal draft, the broad beam, the unobstructed deck layout, and the graceful longhead with its decorated trail-boards.

Although the first bug-eyes were built of logs, about 1880 scarcity of timber necessitated construction by the conventional frame and plank methods. But even so, the bug-eye model was retained in preference to any other form. Nor was there a continuous development of hull form within the type itself, which came into being almost full fledged. The conditions of work which created the bug-eye remained unchanged, and the men who built the first bug-eyes in many cases modeled and laid down the last.

Why should there be last bug-eyes? Because although oyster dredging may not have changed, transportation of oysters and other produce to the market has changed. Thus, as all Bay sailors know, the bug-eyes are being supplanted by those ungraceful motor boats, which are sometimes converted bug-eyes, which have a cargo mast forward and a square house aft, and are known according to taste as "put-puts," "stink boats," or "those damned power boats." As long as everyone was dependent on the wind to get him to market, any man's competitors suffered from head winds as much as the man himself. But when a bug-eye beating up the Bay sees a power boat chugging steadily into it, with the practical certainty of arriving on schedule, sentiment and romance are submerged in the economic tidal wave.

One question which has long puzzled the denizens of the Bay is the origin of the name "bug-eye." Mr. Brewington does not answer the question categorically, but he throws a great deal of light on it. There are five traditional theories. The first is that the deck view of the vessel resembles half of the outer covering of the horse chestnut, or "buck-eye." The second theory is that the word is a corruption of the Scotch word "buckler," or perhaps of a word of some African dialect. The third theory is that the Negroes thought that the hawse holes in connection with the knighthead and hawsepieces looked like "bugs'-eyes." The fourth theory is that the name is the result of a transposition of the name "buggy" from a land to a water vehicle. The fifth theory is that the name owes its origin to the practice of painting a large circle on each side of the bow. There is also the suggestion, not dignified into a theory, that the name comes from the fact that the craft was so handy that she could be turned in as small a space as a bug's eye. Finally, there is a story that Captain Clement R. Sterling, who built the first bug-eye, when asked by passing sailors what his strange craft was called, replied "It's a bug's eye!" Mr. Brewington, after discussing these possibilities, states his personal inclination to the view that the corruption of a foreign word is the most probable.

If the origin of the word "bug-eye" is not definitely settled, however, another mystery of name is, viz.: the name of the famous bug-eye *Brown Smith Jones*, which some years ago engaged in a race with Henry Bald-

win's *Bee*, and is still in commission. The name of *Brown Smith Jones* is not, as some have suspected, an apotheosis of either anonymity or mediocrity; the vessel, built in 1894 for the Maryland State Navy, was named for Governor Frank Brown, Comptroller Marion de K. Smith, and Treasurer Spencer C. Jones.

Another minor mystery which is cleared up is the "patent stern." The astonishing information is authoritatively set forth that the stern really was patented—in 1908—by Captain Joseph E. Robbins of Cambridge—and the original patent drawings are reproduced in fac-simile. The original bug-eyes, being doubled ended, had insufficient deck room aft. The round stern did not remedy the defect, nor did the duck-tail. Captain Robbins' invention was merely a davit for hoisting the ship's boat at the stern, but when the space between the two beams supporting the arms of the davit was decked over, the after deck was greatly enlarged. The device was so successful that almost every bug-eye on the Bay adopted it.

Lastly, Mr. Brewington says that although a few bug-eyes were built in Virginia, most of them were built in Maryland, and the best of these on the Eastern Shore. Whether more will be built is open to doubt, but in the present book, Mr. Brewington has made a remarkably interesting record of a type that was born and bred in our own Bay.

EMORY H. NILES

Robert Alexander, Maryland Loyalist. By JANET BASSETT JOHNSON. New York: Putnam, 1942. xiii, 152 pp. \$2.50.

Very little has been known about Robert Alexander. J. Thomas Scharf, in his three volume history of Maryland referred to him five times, and called him the chief of Maryland loyalists (II, p. 297), but Matthew Page Andrews did not mention him in his history of Maryland. Dr. Janet Bassett Johnson has combed the sources with meticulous care, and has proved the sincerity of his loyalty both to the revolutionists before the Declaration of Independence and also to England after that event. He now appears primarily as a fine type of honest, conscientious loyalist. However, since nearly all the extant materials for his life are found in official documents, and in many of these he is one of a number of signers, it is impossible to present a well-rounded, distinctive personality. This is not, in any sense, a criticism of the author. She has convinced us so well that Robert Alexander was one of the leading patriotic Marylanders of the revolutionary period up to May, 1776, that we feel keenly the lack of personal, intimate letters. We still do not know the exact year of his birth. We know practically nothing about his boyhood, where he studied law, or the family name of his wife. He was undoubtedly one of the most prominent Baltimoreans of the period, but Hamilton Owens, in *Baltimore on the Chesapeake*, does not mention him. We do not even know the line of reasoning he followed at the greatest crisis of his life when he deserted the colonial cause. We can only surmise whether the sprained ankle which kept him from the Continental Congress in June and July, 1776,

was "an excuse" (Scharf, II, p. 298) or a real physical disability (Johnson, p. 98). The author has succeeded so well in convincing us that the English recognized his ability and integrity that we regret that much more information about his life in New York and in England has not survived the ravages of time.

Under these circumstances, the author is to be commended for not yielding to the temptation to pad her material. Her problem has not been that of sifting out and choosing from ample sources, but that of using skillfully all available information. This she has done in a very interesting manner, and has made an important contribution to Maryland biography.

The strong probability that the "Robt. Alexander" referred to in the *Virginia Gazette* of January 14, 1775, and quoted in Delaplaine's *Life of Thomas Johnson*, p. 78, was the Robert Alexander of her biography, should have been mentioned, as it would have associated him with George Washington in plans for the opening of navigation on the Potomac river.

In a few places a little more background would have clarified the narrative. Thus, on page 90, a letter refers to "securing Mr. Eden and his papers," but the circumstances of the embarrassing position of the once-popular royal governor, Sir Robert Eden, are not explained.

The format of the book is very attractive, and there are almost no typographical errors. The reference to "January 20, 1775" on page 74 obviously should be "1776".

JAMES BYRNE RANCK

Hood College

Baltimore, 1870-1900: Studies in Social History. By CHARLES HIRSCHFELD. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. \$1.50.

In the long series of studies in local history which have been the careful concern of the Johns Hopkins since its early days, this painstaking work by Mr. Hirschfeld ranks close to the top.

Few historians have troubled themselves with what happened to the older cities of the country between the close of the Civil War and the turn of the century. The romantic winning of the West was a more congenial theme, apparently, than tracing the changes wrought in the East by the organization of the country on a continental basis. Baltimore, by its geographical location, primarily, and by its sectional schizophrenia, in a lesser degree, tells the story of the new urbanization perhaps better than any other city on the seaboard.

Mr. Hirschfeld, in approaching as a pioneer this almost uncharted region, is careful to set out limits to his work and to avoid unseemly generalization. But his limits show his skill as a historian. He talks, successively, of the growth of population, of the organization of industrial units, of the development of public education and of organized charity.

Each topic is approached with due regard to the interrelated nature of the whole problem. There are statistics, as there should be, but there are also copious quotations from the citizens and newspapers of the time

who were struggling to understand the changes in progress and to adjust the community life to the demands being made.

What we get, as a result, is a picture of the development of urban America as we know it today, with its loss, on the one hand, of the fine individualism which marked the days of the merchant-entrepreneurs, and its achievement, on the other, of civic consciousness and almost instinctive concern for disparate groups, as groups. The conflicts, the advances and retreats, the victories and defeats are all suggested here even when they are not explicitly set forth.

For future students of Baltimore this work will be a source book for the period which we may come to believe was the most dramatic in our history. It should be a welcome model for historians working in the same period in other cities, for its method is at once straightforward and effective.

HAMILTON OWENS

The Life of Emma Thursby, 1845-1931. By RICHARD McCANDLESS GIPSON. New York: New York Historical Society, 1940. 470 p.

The collections of the New York Historical Society were recently enriched with a vast quantity of material relating to the life and career of the American singer Emma Thursby (1842-1931), well known to music lovers of the seventies and eighties. Phonograph records will help biographers of the future to pass accurate judgment on the voices of today; but in the case of Emma Thursby we can only fall back on the enthusiasms of long-dead musical critics in Europe and America who seem to agree in placing her among the ranking concert singers of her time. Certain it is that through her artistic activities and her innumerable friendships (she united talent with a charming personality) Miss Thursby was deeply involved in the musical life of this country for a great span of years. Students of our musical history therefore have reason to give thanks to Mr. Richard McCandless Gipson for welding a dismayingly large amount of memorabilia into a painstaking, readable biography, and to the New York Historical Society for sponsoring the volume so handsomely.

To readers other than those seeking definite information about a period, "The Life of Emma Thursby" is not apt to make a strong appeal. Few people in these distracted days have minds sufficiently at ease to catch the elusive fragrance of old programmes, yellowing press-notices and faded bouquets cast at the feet of a triumphant artist many, many years ago. Legends of Jenny Lind and Adeline Patti still linger on, it is true; but in Emma Thursby we are confronted by a much more cautious, "genteel" personality. She was born into a prosperous family of Brooklyn, New York, that rockribbed stronghold of respectability. The solid implications of this fact overshadowed her entire life, and although she found her way to music as surely as water seeks its level (her first concert she gave at the age of five) her approach to it was through the church choir and the oratorio, and moral scruples held her back from entering the

turbulent Bohemian world of the opera. The chronicle of her life—as Mr. Gipson chooses to have us know it, at any rate—is most respectable, free from the emotional tempests and entanglements which the average reader is apt to look for in a great singer's biography. More spicy is the personality of her teacher, Erminia Rudersdorff (mother of Richard Mansfield, the actor) many of whose letters are quoted.

An interesting feature of the present volume is a chronology of Miss Thursby's concert appearances from 1853 to 1908, the reading of which carries one breathless across oceans and continents and fills one with respect for the vitality of the songstress. She knew her country to the furthestmost cultural outposts. From this chronology, we learn that her début in Baltimore was made at a concert at the Peabody Conservatory of Music on February 5, 1875. Subsequently she made eleven other appearances in that city.

JOHN GILMAN D'ARCY PAUL

Doctor Wood, Modern Wizard of the Laboratory. . . . By WILLIAM SEABROOK. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1941. 335 pp. \$3.75.

In reading the above work, the thoughts of the reviewer reverted, through the reaches of time, to the difficulties which his non-scientific mind met at the Johns Hopkins University in securing the requisite passing mark in Physics I, then taught by the redoubtable Dr. Joseph S. Ames. The solitary human touch, at that time, to his hesitant ingress to and joyous departure from classes in the old physical laboratory on West Monument Street was the permeating aroma from the omnipresent pipe of Dr. Robert W. Wood—a pipe which when lighted years later, whether abstractedly or through design, broke the hitherto existing ban against smoking in the sacred halls of the Royal Society of England.

The author of the life history of the *Modern Wizard of the Laboratory*, of course, had an incomparable subject about which to write. Yet, this fact increased rather than diminished the demand upon his ability and genius. He encountered no light burden when called upon to produce a biography appropriate to "one of modern research's greatest masters." The biographer has shown rare aptitude in giving not only to the scientific mind but also to the lay mind a volume exceedingly difficult to "put down."

The reader is carried steadily forward over the dynamic course of an imaginative and daring scientist without ever becoming lost in the labyrinth of experimental physics. Though this result springs in part from the human and exuberant traits in Dr. Wood's nature, the originality and boldness of his experimentation and its often dramatic presentation, the world-wide recognition of his scientific achievements, his studies and travels in foreign lands and the signal honors conferred upon him both at home and abroad, the balanced crossing of the warp and the woof in the weaving of the story of his career discloses a masterful literary hand. The warp of science and of scientific attainment is so adroitly entwined with

the woof of the natural reactions and the experiences of a rugged individualist that the reader can suffer no tedium as he follows the life path of this scientific "commando."

Observing that the author, in treating of Dr. Wood's experimental work in physics, his resultant discoveries and consequent accomplishments, frequently and wisely incorporated in his text Dr. Wood's own statements with reference thereto, the reviewer, not having this chance, is prudently content to refer to Sir Oliver Lodge's presentation of him in 1913, upon the occasion of his receiving the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Birmingham, in England, when he characterized him as "one of the most brilliant and original experimental physicists in the world."

Of compelling interest are the chapters relating to the forays made by Dr. Wood beyond the confines of the scientific and experimental world, which tended to encompass him. An incursion into the realm of literature resulted in his publication of *How to Tell the Birds from the Flowers*. Student days and sabbatical years in Europe had their full quota of travel and of social life. The first World War brought from Dr. Wood suggestions for and inventions of new methods of warfare and to him a commission as major in the United States Army. On a visit to Egypt in 1931, he became interested in King Tutankhamen's purple gold, and his later experimentation solved its mystery. Scorn for deception and for "psychic" and spiritualistic mediums (plus, it is ventured, a sense of humor) resulted in his exposé of scientific frauds and his warfare with mediums. Renown as an experimental physicist and an analyst brought about his induction into service as a scientific detective and his solution of many baffling problems. The flight of the boomerang seized Dr. Wood's imagination during his student days in Germany, and he became an expert boomerang thrower. The book is replete with references to interesting friendships formed and distinguished persons known, and intriguing glimpses are given into the life of Dr. Wood at home.

The reader, in contemplating the career of the man, can but exclaim *Mirabile dictu*.

EDWARD D. MARTIN.

Bishop Joseph Blount Cheshire, His Life and Work. By LAWRENCE FOUSHEE LONDON. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1941. xii, 140 pp. \$2.00.

When Dr. Cheshire, fifth Anglican Bishop of North Carolina and the first native of the State to preside over that see, died in 1932, he was in his eighty-third year and the fortieth year of his episcopate. He was consecrated in October 1893, after being elected on 28th June in circumstances of peculiar interest to the reviewer, since Dr. Cheshire withdrew from the electing convention at Raleigh after the twenty-fourth ballot in order to celebrate the marriage of the reviewer's mother and father.*

* Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, the North Carolina historian and bibliographer.

Dr. Cheshire's election ensued on the thirty-ninth ballot. Throughout the four decades of his episcopate he ruled with a firm hand, but his forthrightness of temper, honesty of purpose, soundness of judgment, courage, kindness, and understanding sympathy with his people gave to that rule the proper pastoral touch of a Catholic bishop.

Bishop Cheshire was born in 1850, the son of the parish priest of Tarborough. Descended from an old Carolina family, the father played an active part in the Diocesan Convention and the General Convention at Philadelphia in 1865 which brought together again the Church in the United States and in the former Confederacy, the story of which is so ably told by the son in his scholarly work, *The Church in the Confederate States* (1912). Possibly this broadmindedness led the father to send his son North to college, for in 1866 he entered Trinity at Hartford. There his best friends were Maryland students and after graduation he came to Maryland to teach Greek and Latin for two years in the Rev^d Dr. Shepherd's school, St. Clement's Hall, at Ellicott City. In 1871 he returned to Carolina, read law at Hillsborough, and again coming to Maryland began practice with Geo. G. Hooper in Baltimore. He remained here, however, only fifteen months and again returned to Carolina, this time for good. At Tarborough he carried on a successful practice until 1878, when he gave up the law to take Holy Orders. Dr. London perhaps lays too little emphasis upon the part which legal concepts and legal methods played in Bishop Cheshire's thinking.

Important among his works as bishop were the erection of the western counties into a missionary jurisdiction under a bishop; the adoption in 1899, and later endowment, by the several dioceses of the Carolinas of St. Mary's School, Raleigh, which is now the largest Church school for girls in America; his conscientious work among the Negroes which led in 1918 to the election of a black suffragan bishop; and his contributions as a member of the Church's General Conventions and the Pan-Anglican Lambeth Conferences.

His achievements can be barely indicated here, but the impress of his character was definite. If one seeks a parallel in fiction, one must add to the firmness of Archdeacon Grantly the spiritual integrity of Warden Harding, and the sound common sense of Parson Adams. As an historian, Bishop Cheshire early showed originality in his suggestion that the early settlers of the Albemarle Country were not seeking religious freedom but economic independence, a thesis fully sustained by later writers.

Bishop Cheshire was twice married, the first time to Annie Huske Webb of Hillsborough, who was the mother of his several children, in 1874; and after her death, to Elizabeth Lansdale Mitchell in 1899. Miss Mitchell's father was a clergyman and her mother a Miss Thomas of Cremona, St. Mary's County, Maryland, where the Bishop spent many holidays after their marriage. He was a great fisherman and enjoyed equally the Patuxent and the French Broad. He was likewise very fond of wild turkey-shooting, a sport which he enjoyed to the end. With a keen sense of humor, he was an extraordinary raconteur. Fortunately, many of his stories of plantation life and eminent men in Carolina are

preserved in his delightful book, *Nonnulla* (1930). The unusual candor of his mind and speech enabled him to meet on equal terms both gentle and simple, scholar and field-hand; to tell the astonished master of Hatfield House, while viewing its ancestral portraits, more of the deeds of the Cecils than he himself knew (as the Bishop once amusedly related to the reviewer); and to discuss interestedly with a Negro farmer the last farrowing of his favorite sow. Such a personality bursts the bounds of so small a book, but Dr. London has striven well to suggest it in his almost austere narrative of the events of a full life. His work is well done, and, we may hope, is only the precursor of a biography which will portray at full-length, with many letters, both prelate and man.

MANGUM WEEKS

Old South Carolina Churches. By HAZEL CROWSON SELLERS. With an Introduction by Chapman J. Milling. Columbia, S. C.: Crowson Printing Co., 1941. xix, [65] p. 61 plates. \$5.00.

Dr. Milling's informative and exceedingly interesting outline of the denominational history of South Carolina is a fitting introduction to the sixty-one sketches of old South Carolina churches, each one drawn from the original building, by Mrs. Hazel Grossan Sellers. One can find no description of her accomplishment to equal two sentences in Dr. Milling's introduction: "Into the work has gone sincere tenderness and a love of her task. I think she has caught the spirit which actuated the building of these fine old houses of God."

Mrs. Sellers has chosen an excellent arrangement for her material. On the page facing each plate is a well-chosen quotation; sometimes a few lines, often several verses from an appropriate poem; or it may be quaint and moving lines from a tablet on a church wall, or an epitaph in a churchyard, or a quotation from the Bible. On the page following each plate is a brief outline of that church's organization and its history. It is an astonishing achievement to give so much information in so small a compass.

To South Carolinians who treasure and revere their historic houses of worship this book will be an invaluable possession. To all others interested in the architecture of old American churches the beauty and variety of the sketches will stimulate and increase that interest.

Any one who has had the good fortune to visit Charleston, and to see even a small part of South Carolina, can not fail to carry away the impression that both the State and the city hold a unique position in these United States. Is it not probable that the many old churches, beautiful in their dignity and simplicity and individuality, have stamped those qualities upon the community that built and has preserved these "fine old Houses of God?"

CAROLINA V. DAVISON

The Bibb Family in America, 1640-1940. By CHARLES WILLIAM BIBB. Baltimore, Md.: The Author, 1941. 149 pp.

Bibb is an unusual name in family nomenclature. As a surname, its origin and meaning appear to be involved in obscurity. Mr. Charles William Bibb believes that it is derived from a "cleat or bracket" used in connection with the equipment of ancient ships. Whether this explanation is correct or not can only be determined by finding the original form of the word in the period when it became fixed as a surname, and this cannot be achieved by consulting the pages of a standard dictionary.

The compiler of this genealogy of the Bibb family is worthy of commendation for his painstaking efforts in overcoming many "handicaps" in the course of his quest. The destruction by fire of many of the early records in Virginia and the lack of interest on the part of quite a number of the Bibb descendants have been especially discouraging to the compiler. Another impediment was the fact that some of the pedigrees of this family, hitherto invested with credit, have been found to be erroneous. Lack of space will not permit the citing of instances at this time.

Among members of the Bibb family who have attained prominence in public life may be mentioned: George M. Bibb (1776-1859), born in Prince Edward County, Va., died in Georgetown, D. C., a U. S. Senator from Kentucky; Dr. William Wyatt Bibb (1780-1820), born in the same county, died in Alabama, a U. S. Senator from Georgia and, later, territorial Governor of Alabama, 1817-1820; Thomas Bibb (1789-1839), who succeeded his brother as Governor of Alabama in 1820, *et cetera*.

This work, although fragmentary at times, is a valuable compilation.

FRANCIS BARNUM CULVER

The First Century and a Quarter of American Coal Industry. By HOWARD N. EAVENSON. Pittsburgh, Pa.: Privately printed, 1942. 701 pp.

This detailed history of the coal industry in this country includes a chapter on Maryland, which the author says was the third state to produce coal. There are numerous other references to Maryland's coal mining and trade in the colonial period and the nineteenth century. Early sources have been consulted, and, as a result, the study is especially valuable in supplementing the early history given in the Maryland Geological Survey report on coal. Shipping by way of the Potomac River and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad is stressed. Detailed statistical tables trace production to 1885.

E. C. L.

NOTES AND QUERIES

The *Twenty-fifth Report* of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, recently issued, carries short articles on these topics among others: "History of the English-German Schools in Baltimore," by Dr. Ernest J. Becker; "German Settlers on the Eastern Shore of Maryland," by Arthur L. Davis; "The Baltimore Germans and the Oath of Allegiance in 1778," by Dr. Dieter Cunz, and biographical sketches of the late Karl A. M. Scholtz, a member of the Maryland Historical Society, by Lewis Kurtz, and of the late Dr. Christian Deetjen by Professor William Kurrelmeyer.

Hughes—Who were the parents of Samuel Hughes, born about 1689, who lived near Deer Creek, then Baltimore County but now in Harford, in 1730? His will is in Book 3, f. 185, in the Baltimore court house, and was probated Feb. 11, 1771. He married Hannah Jane Watkins Nov. 4, 1714. Their children were Margaret, John, Jane, Sarah and Mary. It is believed that his brothers and sister were named Jonathan, William and Sarah. Possibly the family immigrated from New England. Has any one information as to the date when this family arrived in America?

JOSEPH LEE HUGHES,
20 E. Washington, St., Fleetwood, Pa.

Summer Hours.—Until September 15 the Rooms of the Society will be open daily from 9 a. m. to 4 p. m., except Saturday when they will close at 1 p. m.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

The intensive study of historical portraiture and painting in the South Atlantic states made over a period of years by DR. J. HALL PLEASANTS, vice president of this Society and editor of the *Archives of Maryland*, has shed a wealth of new light on the subject. His disclosure of Joshua Johnston's work is arousing wide interest. ☆ HENRY W. BRAGDON, graduate of Harvard and of Trinity College, Cambridge (England), is an instructor in history at Brooks School, North Andover, Massachusetts. Since 1938 he has been engaged in a study of Woodrow Wilson's academic career, 1875-1910. ☆ As mentioned previously in these notes, DR. CHARLES BRANCH CLARK is a Marylander now teaching at West Georgia College. ☆ PHILIP B. GOVE is an instructor in English in University College, New York University, and holds degrees from Dartmouth, Harvard and Columbia universities. The lively letter of an immigrant to Maryland in 1771 which he has contributed was unearthed during research in England prior to the opening of the War. ☆ ETHEL ROBY HAYDEN (Mrs. Lewis M. Hayden) of Baltimore is a native of Charles County and a contributor to the contemporary press. Her paper is a welcome addition to the scant materials in print regarding the history of Charles County.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

Feb. 26, 1942.—At a special meeting of the Society President Radcliffe requested Mr. Griswold, chairman of the Entertainment Committee, to introduce the guest speaker, Dr. Samuel Eliot Morison of Harvard University, and visiting lecturer at Johns Hopkins University. Dr. Morison's topic was "Sailing in the Wake of Columbus." The address was received with great interest and enjoyment by an audience that taxed the capacity of the hall. At its conclusion the speaker was given a rising vote of thanks.

March 9, 1942.—The regular meeting of the Society was held this evening with President Radcliffe in the chair.

The following were elected members:

Active.

Mr. Eugene H. Beer	Mrs. Mary Powell Northam
Mr. Arthur H. deCourcy	Mrs. Nettie Crockett Northam
Mr. William Curran	Mrs. R. Wellford Peach
Mr. Benjamin Franklin Ellers	Mr. Harris Sparks
Dr. Charles M. Emig	Mrs. J. Cook Webster

Associate

Mr. George R. Cooke

The death of Miss Lida Lee Tall, on February 21, 1942, was reported.

Senator Radcliffe introduced Dr. Henry Ridgely Evans who gave an address on "Mysticism and Magic during the Colonial Period and Later." Upon conclusion of this interesting paper a demonstration of the art of magic was presented by members of the Society of Osiris of Baltimore.

April 13, 1942.—At a regular meeting of the Society, with President Radcliffe in the chair, a list of donations to the library was read and the following were elected to membership:

Active

Mrs. Arthur Beaven	Hon. William H. Lawrence
Mr. Ernest F. Fadum	Hon. Eugene O'Dunne
Mr. Water Matthew Gibb	Dr. J. M. H. Rowland
Mr. Water E. Keene	Mr. Theodore E. Straus
Mr. C. Webster Tall	

Associate

Miss Catherine Letterman Major Richard D. Mudd, M. C.

The following deaths were reported from among the members:

Mrs. Albert W. Sioussat, March 15, 1942.

Mr. H. C. Roberson (Associate member), March 31, 1942.
George C. Keidel, Ph. D., April 12, 1942.

A most interesting paper was read by the Honorable W. Calvin Chesnut, Judge of the United States District Court, entitled: "The Work of the Federal Court in Maryland." A rising vote of thanks was extended to Judge Chesnut.

May 11, 1942.—A regular meeting of the Society was called to order by Mr. B. Howell Griswold, Jr., Chairman of the Committee on Addresses, who introduced Dr. Lewellys F. Barker, the speaker, whose subject was "The Early Days of Johns Hopkins Hospital." Upon conclusion of Dr. Barker's entertaining address, President Radcliffe invited various members in the audience to add their comments to the description so delightfully furnished by Dr. Barker. Dr. J. M. H. Rowland, Dr. Hugh H. Young, Dr. John McF. Bergland, Judge W. Calvin Chesnut, Judge Henry D. Harlan, Mr. Ralph Robinson and Mr. B. Howell Griswold, Jr., contributed to the discussion. Mr. Griswold proposed a rising vote of thanks to Dr. Barker.

Elected to membership were the following:

Active

Mr. J. Hollis Buchanan Albert	Miss Anna S. Gittings
Mr. Henry Herbert Balch	Mr. William H. C. Griffith
Miss Elizabeth Banks	Mr. Rufus K. Goodenow
Congresswoman Katherine E. Byron	Mr. Charles W. L. Johnson
Mr. George R. Callis	Mrs. Carl W. Markham
Mrs. Robert Lee Paris	Mr. Frederick M. Supplee

Associate

Mrs. William A. Kelsey	Mr. Ray Robosson
Miss Martha S. Poole	Mrs. Brantz Mayer Roszel
Mr. John P. Wenchel	

The deaths of the following members were reported:

Mrs. Walter Wickes, on April 21, 1942.
Mr. George M. Shriver, on May 11, 1942.

The long list of donations made to the library was not read but two very interesting items were mentioned, one being the manuscript genealogical notes of the late Dr. Christopher Johnston, which make a valuable addition to the collection of such materials; the second being the gift, through Mr. M. V. Brewington, on behalf of Mr. Bernard F. Williamson, of the "Time and Waste Books, 1831-1835" of the firm of James Joseph Williamson, 3d, of Fell's Point. Mr. William B. Crane, co-author of *Men of Marque*, at the request of the President gave a description of this very interesting material. He noted that the books contained records of special interest to students of Baltimore's shipbuilding history, including data concerning the *Ann McKim*.